DR. V. RAGHAVAN SHASHTYABDAPURTI FELICITATION VOLUME

THE DR. V. RAGHAVAN SHASHTYABDAPURTI
FELICITATION COMMITTEE
THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE
MYLAPORE, MADRAS-4
1971

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A Souvenir of the 61st Birthday celebrations and a collection of Essays contributed in his honour by his friends, colleagues and students on that occasion

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

DR. C. D. DESHMUKH

THE DR. V. RAGHAVAN SHASHTYABDAPURTI
FELICITATION COMMITTEE
THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE
MYLAPORE, MADRAS-4

G. S. PRESS, MADRAS

FOREWORD

This foreword was to have been written by that renowned devotee of Sanskrit, the late K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, whom I had the privilege of knowing for over two decades. He and I had been associated closely with the 61st Birthday celebrations which this Volume commemorates. But, alas, Shri Iyer has passed away, and the agreeable duty of writing the Foreword has devolved on me.

Dr. V. Raghavan is a Sanskritist of rare distinction, whose scholarship is as wide and deep as is his concern for Indian culture, particularly music. Parts A and C of this Volume testify to his wide-ranging scholarship in Sanskrit and carry many an eminent confrere's appreciative appraisal of his achievements and standing, nationally and internationally, in the world of Sanskrit savants. Shri D. Anjaneyalu describes him fittingly as an integrated scholar. But apart from the high quality of his scholarship, ubiquitous, penetrating and indefatigable, Dr. Raghavan is endowed with creative talent, evidenced by his mahakavyam, Muthuswami Dikshitar Charitram, and several plays and poems.

It is therefore no surprise that a large number of scholars in Sanskrit and allied disciplines have come forward to contribute to this Volume. Their contributions, 45 in number, will be found in Part B of the Volume. They furnish an intellectual and spiritual fare of delectable richness and flavour. Notable among the contributors are four Vice-Chancellors (past and present), several professors, not only of Sanskrit, but of other languages or disciplines such as epigraphy, archaeology, history, anthropology and philo-

sophy; as well as some intellectuals well-known in the world of art, literature or public service.

There is something elevating and stimulating in this collective expression which is as much a tribute to Dr. V. Raghavan as an homage to the cause to which he has dedicated his life—that of Sanskrit learning. May he be spared very many years to continue what may justly be called a labour of love.

New Delhi,
23-3-1971

C. D. DESHMUKH

PREFACE

On the occasion of the 61st Birthday of Dr. V. Raghavan in August 1968 a Committee for celebrating the occasion and felicitating Dr. Raghavan was formed with Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer as President and Sri C. Seshachalam Chettiar, Curzon & Company, Madras as Treasurer. The Committee issued an appeal for contributions for the celebrations fund and received good response from the large circle of friends, colleagues, students and admirers of Dr. V. Raghavan in the different fields of activity with which he had been connected. On the 25th of August, 1968 a large public meeting was held under the Chairmanship of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh in the Auditorium of the Music Academy, Madras of which Dr. Raghavan had been an active Office-bearer in different capacities for four decades. The Committee wishes to thank the authorities of the Academy for placing the Auditorium freely at the disposal of the celebration committee for the occasion. It was a matter of great satisfaction for the Committee that Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, the distinguished son of India, who has filled many high offices with distinction, kindly accepted the Presidentship of the Silver Jubilee function.

One of the decisions of the Committee was to bring out a Felicitation Volume which would contain, besides an account of the celebrations, a collection of scholarly papers. The work of this Volume was taken up sometime early in 1969 and arrangements were made for printing the Volume of papers with G. S. Press, Madras-2. The Committee had submitted an application to the Central Sanskrit Board and the Board was pleased to make a contribution towards the cost of the production of the Volume. Dr. S. S. Janaki, one of the former students of Dr. V. Raghavan and a Secretary of the Celebration Committee, was attending to the work of the Volume; after she left for Oxford for further studies, the Press work was attended to by Sri C. S. Sundaram, former student of Dr. V. Raghavan and a member of the Celebrations Committee and Dr. M. Narasimhachary, another student of Dr.

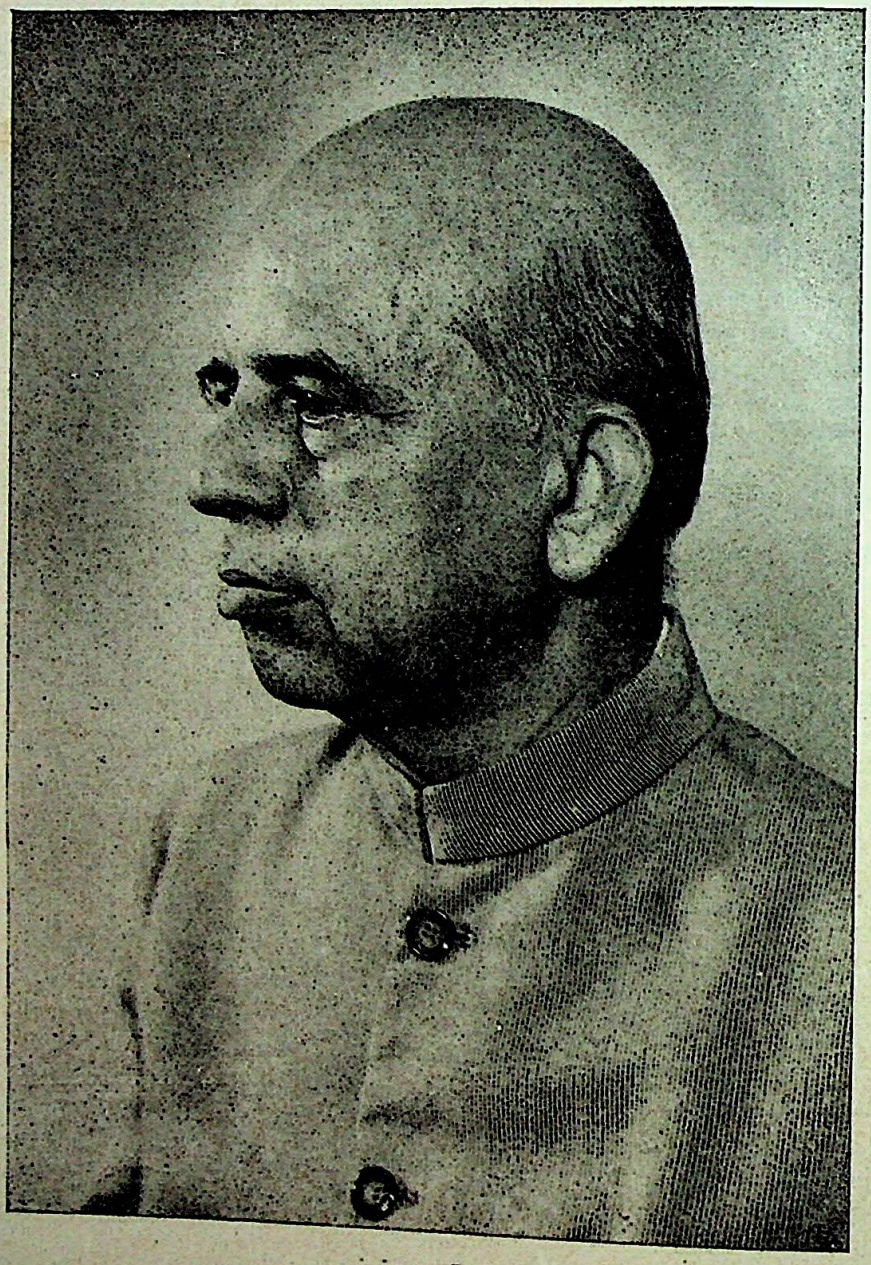
Raghavan and Lecturer in Sanskrit, Vivekananda College. During the printing of the Volume, unfortunately the Treasurer of the Committee Sri C. Seshachalam Chettiar passed away. The Committee also sustained serious loss in the sad demise of its President Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer.

The Committee is thankful to Dr. C. D. Deshmukh for his accepting to be President of the Celebrations and for his writing the Foreword to this Volume.

We are glad that it has been possible to have the Volume released during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute of which Dr. Raghavan had been one of the founder-Secretaries. The members of the Committee decided to elect me as President and Sri T. S. Rangarajan as Treasurer and to entrust the copies of the Volume to the K.S.R. Institute and request them to utilise the net proceeds of the sale of the Volumes for the institution of an annual lecture in the name of Dr. V. Raghavan under the auspices of the Institute.

Madras
25-3-1971

T. V. VISWANATHA AIYER
President
Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti
Celebration Committee



Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

Born 22nd August, 1908 at Tiruvarur in Tanjore District, Tamil Nadu State, South India; educated at Board and Government High School, Tiruvarur, and Presidency College, Madras; took M.A. degree in Sanskrit Language and Literature (1930) in First Class with first rank and with several gold medals and prizes; studied under Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri as student and as Research scholar and took Ph.D. (1931-5) on his Thesis *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa;* Superintendent of Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjavur, for a brief period in 1930; joined the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University in 1935 and has since then been engaged on the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work; Professor and Head of the Department (1955); visited Europe (1953-54), U.S.S.R. (1958), Nepal (1962, 1963), U.S.A. (1964), Japan and South-East Asia (1964) and Australia (1971); Fellow of the Jawaharlal Nehru Foundation (1969, 1970).

Secretary, All India Oriental Conference (1951-59); twice its section President (1949 and 1959), and the General President of its 21st session (1961); received Kane Gold Medal (1953) from the Asiatic Society, Bombay; the titles *Kavikokila* for his poetic compositions in Sanskrit and *Sakala-kalā-kalāpa* for his versatile talents both from H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha; *Padma Bhushan* Republic Day award from the President of India (1962); Fellowship of Sangeet Natak Akademi (1964); delivered the Patel Memorial Lectures (1964) for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; received the Sahitya Akademi Prize for Sanskrit Research for his book *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* (1966); gold medal for distinction in Arts and Sciences from the Noble Order of St. Martin, Austria, 1967; conferred the title of *Vidvat-Kavīndra* by a conference of Pandits and scholars at the Sanskrit Language Society, Madras (1969).

Member of the Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India (1956); Member of the Central Sanskrit Board of the Ministry of Education, New Delhi; Chairman, Central Sanskrit

Institute Tirupati; Advisory Member of several manuscript libraries; Secretary, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras; President, Sanskrit Academy, Madras; President, Samskrita Ranga, Madras; President, Natya Sangh, Madras; Secretary and Editor of Journal and Publications, Music Academy, Madras; Member, Advisory and Editorial Committee, Adyar Library and Research Centre; Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Linguistic Society of India, Asiatic Society of Bengal; Royal India, Pakistan, Ceylon Society, London; Honorary Member, Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Paris, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, the Noble Order of St. Martin, Austria; Member, the Indian P.E.N., Indian Advisory Committee, American Institute of Indian Studies, Sanskrit Dictionary Committee, Poona, and various other learned bodies and institutions; Member, Central Advisory Board for Archaeology, Executive Committee of National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO, Gazetteer Revision Committee, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla; Special Adviser for Sanskrit and Member, Advisory Board for Music, All India Radio; Member and Convener of the Sanskrit Board of Sahitya Akademi; Member, General Council and Executive Committee, Sangeet Natak Akademi; Member, National Book Trust; and of various other literary and art bodies.

Editor, Madras University Sanskrit Series (till 1968); Journal of Oriental Research, Madras; and Journal of the Music Academy; *Samskrita Pratibhā* (Sahitya Akademi); Samskrita Ranga Annual; *Malayamāruta* (Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati); Member of the Editorial Board of The Adyar Library Bulletin, Annals of Oriental Research (University of Madras till 1968) and *Purāṇa* (Varanasi).

Has published 80 books and 800 papers.

डा. वे. राघवं प्रति षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिनिमित्तम् आनन्दवर्धापनम्*

श्री चि. द्वा. देशमुख :

षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिसमयेऽसुमयेऽनघेऽस्मिन्
दिष्ट्या विदग्धकुलमण्डन राघव त्वम् ।
वर्धस्व, वत्सरसरः सरसोऽस्तु दीर्घ-
स्ते नैजकार्यगुरुतानिरताशयस्य ॥ १ ॥

लोके विदामुरुतमे कतमे विदग्धा
यैरर्जिता ह्यमरतामरवाग्विताने ।
तत्रापि निर्मितिकलं कविकोकिलत्वं
हस्ताङ्गुलिप्रमितसंख्यजनैरवापि ॥ २ ॥

नैतावता न्यवसितापचितिः कलायाः
सङ्गीतविश्वरसिक त्वरसे रसायाम् ।
निस्तन्द्रता तव सखेऽनुगखेदहेतु-
र्नश्चोदयेन्न च कथं गुणिशिष्यसंघम् ॥ ३ ॥

विद्यालयश्च यमलं समलङ्करोषि
प्राचार्यकार्यनिपुणो विपुलानुसन्धः ।
सान्द्राभिमानसहमानसमित्रवर्गः
प्रीयेत नो कुलपतिश्च कथं सुखात्ते ॥ ४ ॥

आयोगतश्चलतु विश्वविदालयाना-
मध्यापनप्रगतकेन्द्रमभीष्टमद्धा ।
गौर्वाणवाग्उपनिषन्नवगौरवाढ्या
यस्मिन्ददातु भवते ह्युचितावकाशम् ॥ ५ ॥

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* चेन्नपुर्यां [मद्रास्-नगरे] २२-८-६८ दिवसे प्रवृत्तस्य उत्सवस्य अध्यक्ष-पदमलंकृतवद्भिः श्रीदेशमुखमहाशयैः स्वीयाध्यक्षभाषणान्ते पठित्वा राघवार्येभ्यः

अद्यानवद्यचरितस्य तवोत्सवोऽयं
भाराग्रभूस्तु कुरुतादगुरुतां सुषह्याम् ।
किं नो चिरस्य कथितं कविसत्तमेन
क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते ॥ ६ ॥

उत्तीर्णसप्ततिशतं स्तिमितं जगत्ते
स्तौति प्रकाण्डविदुषां वर निर्मितीनाम् ।
प्रज्ञावदान्य तुलनां तव कोविदोऽन्यः
सारस्वतार्थिविनुतस्तनुते न कश्चित् ॥ ७ ॥

त्वं सामवेदिगगने भगणेश्वरोऽसि
ध्वंसोन्मुखामरगिराममरत्वदोऽपि ।
संसारसंस्कृतिजुषां विदुषां धुरीणः
कं सारवन्तमधिकं नतिभिः स्तुवीमः ॥ ८ ॥

शुद्धं शतं च शरदां शरदभ्रशुभ्रं
शेषायुषः क्रमविधौ शितशेमुषी ते ।
शोभा शुभा शशिकलेव च शुक्लपक्षे
शान्तः शिवश्च भवतात्तव शारदाभ्वा ॥ ९ ॥

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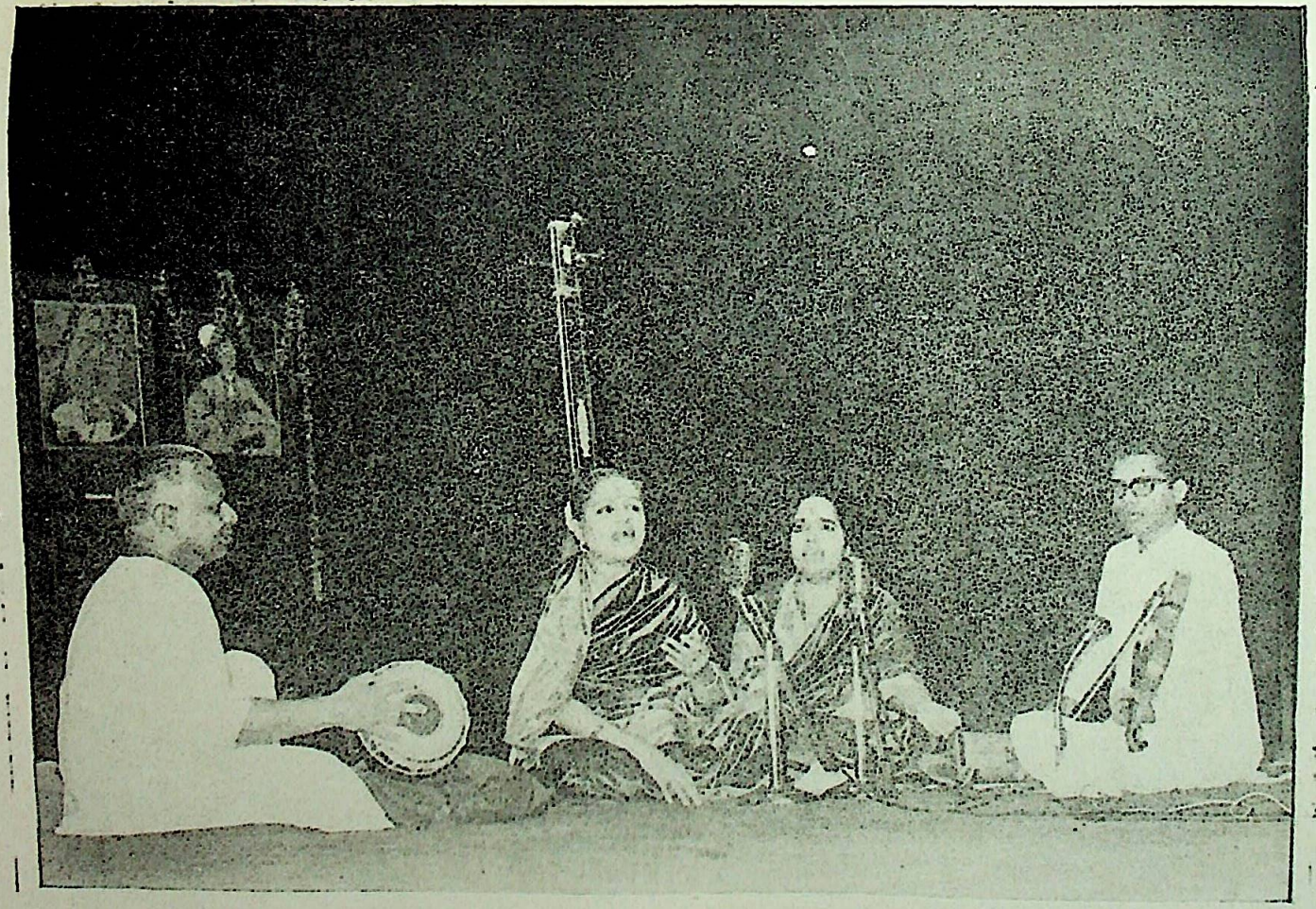
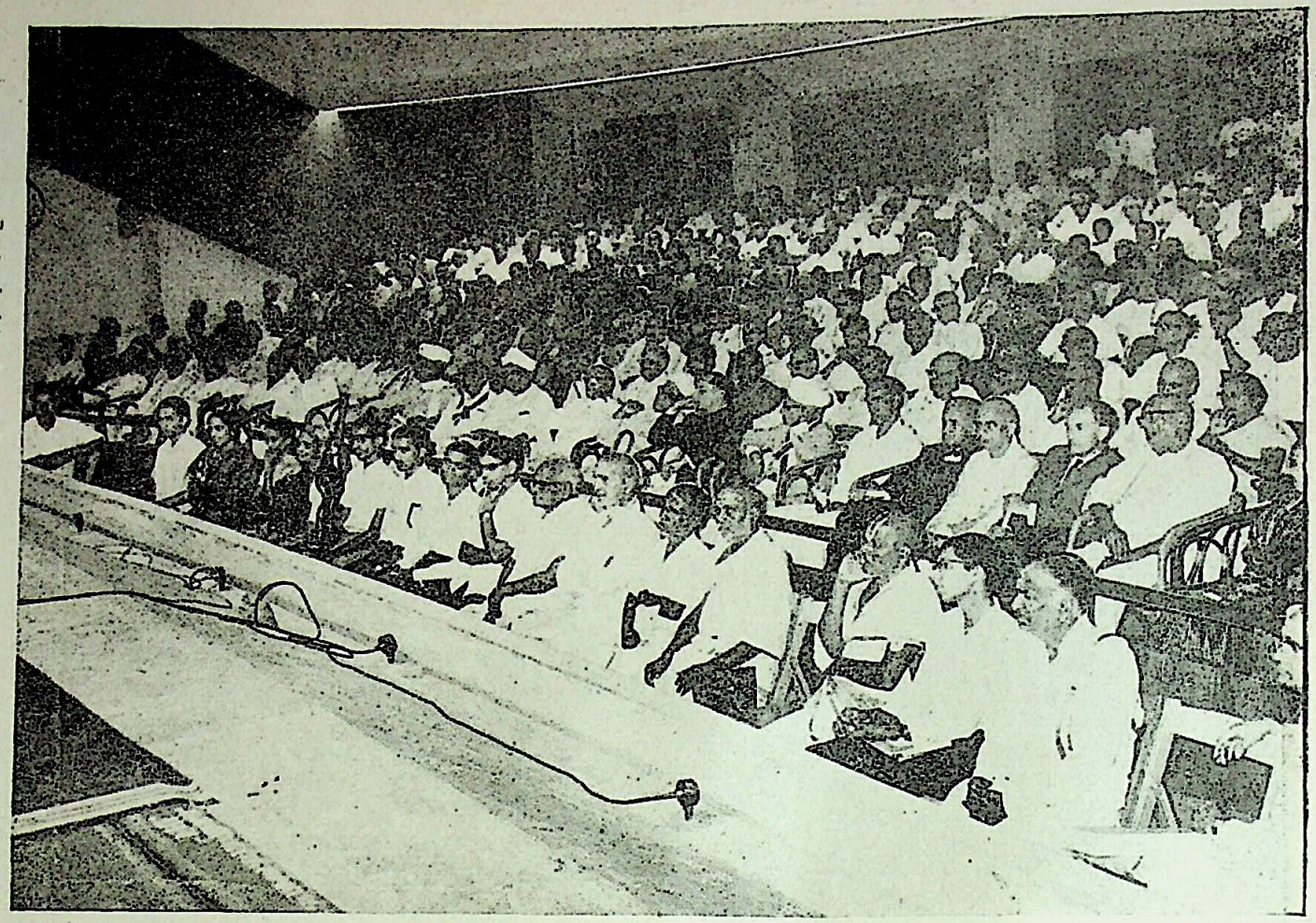
PART A

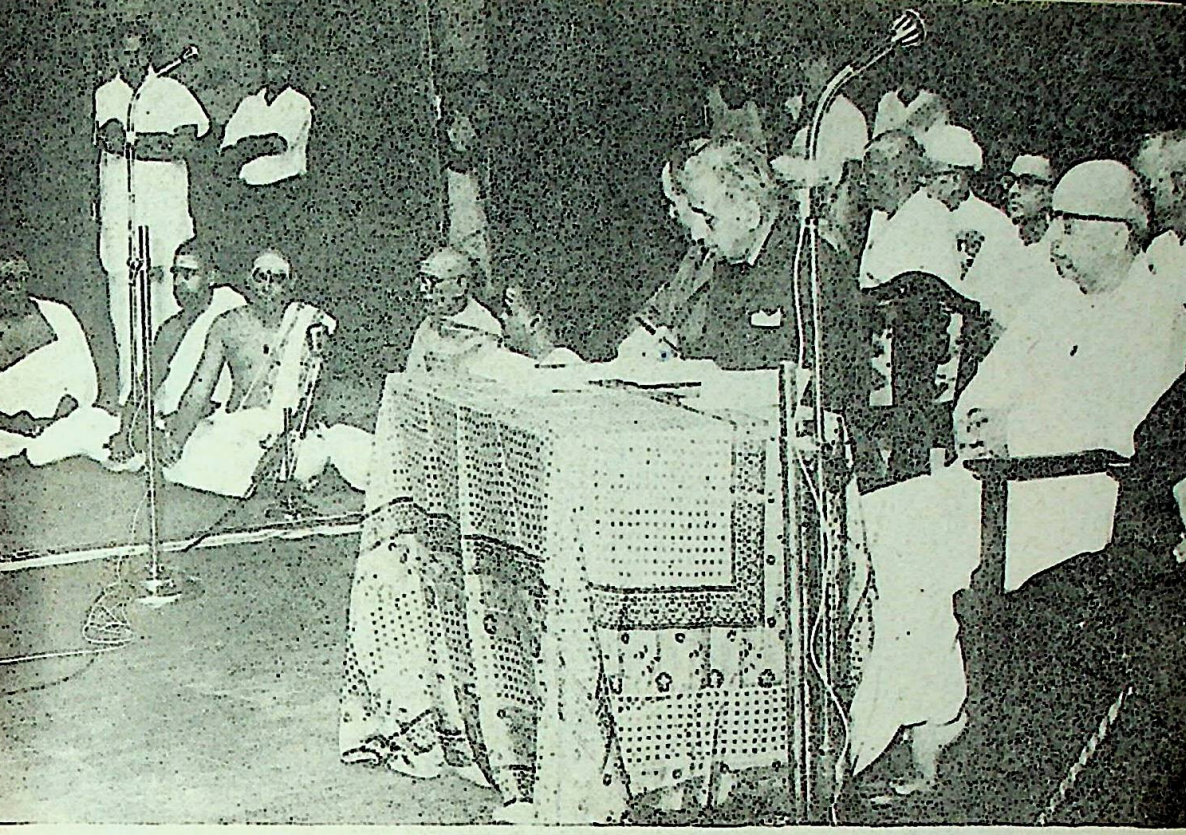
THE CELEBRATIONS



Concert by Smt. M. S. Subbulakshmi, with which Dr. Raghavan's Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations began



Part of the audience at Dr. Raghavan's Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations at the Music Academy Auditorium

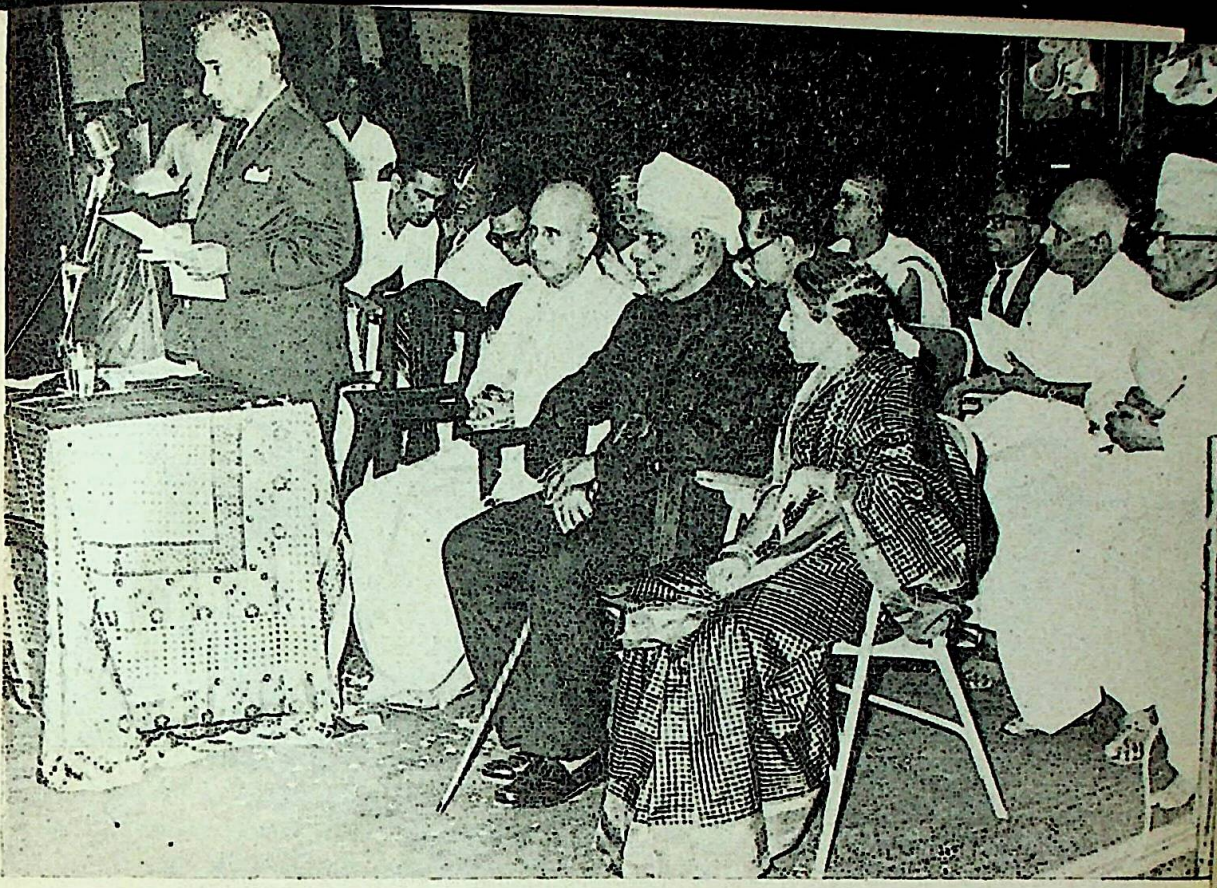


ecitations from Vedas with which the function opened

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar giving Dr. Raghavan the blessings and presentations of H.H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha

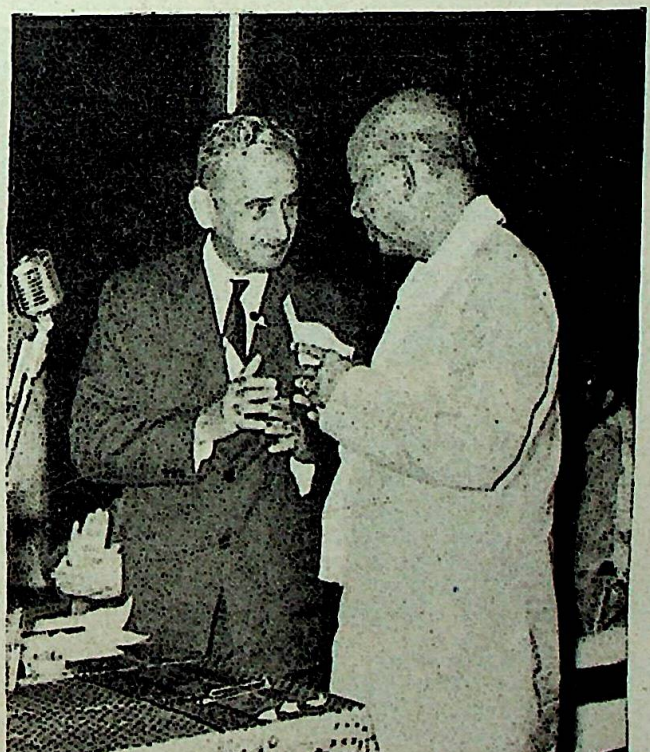
ri V. K. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sri T. V. Rajagopalan presenting
r. Raghavan garland and shawl on behalf of the Music Academy, Madras

Sri C. Seshachalam Chettiar, Treasurer, presenting Dr. Raghavan an address enclosed in a Casket



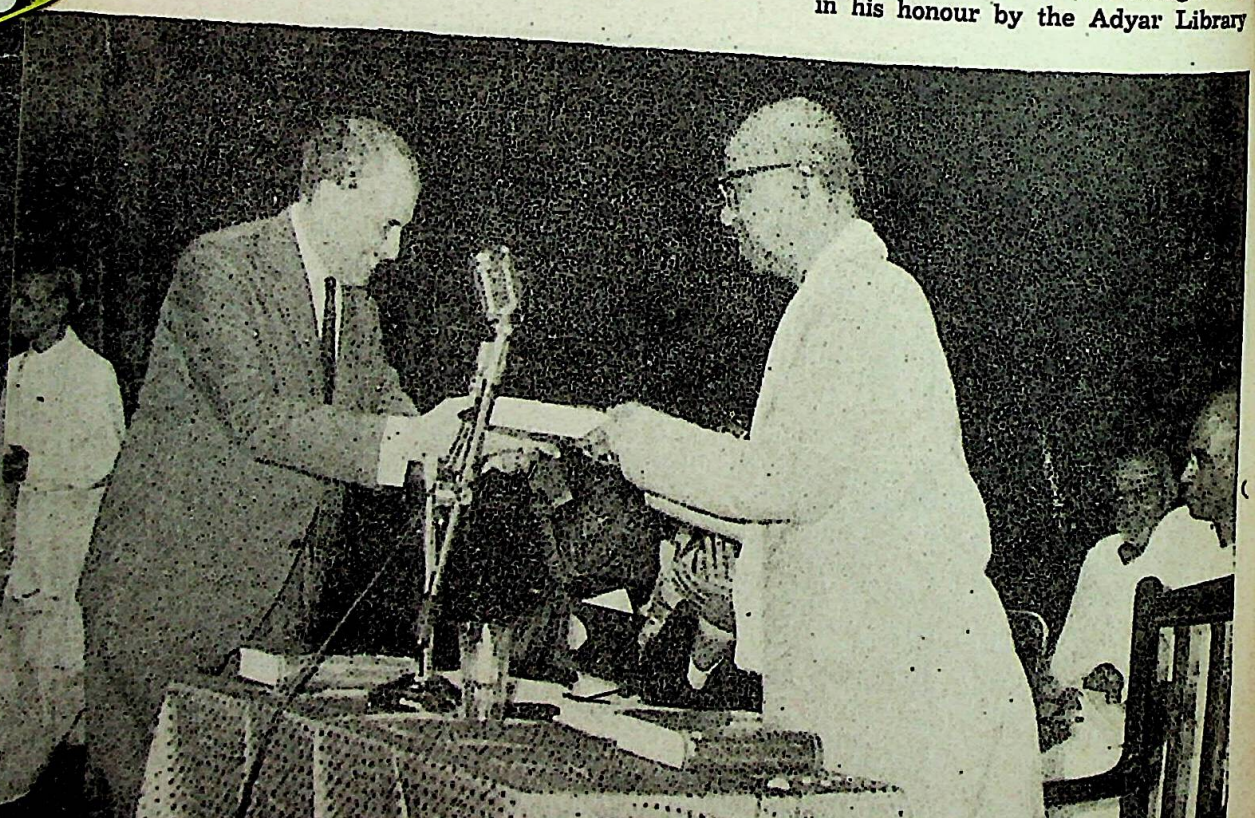
Dr. Deshmukh, Chairman of the celebrations, delivering his address

Dr. Deshmukh, giving his Felicitation-verses to Dr. Raghavan



Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, giving Dr. Raghavan a copy of the Bibliography of the writings of Dr. Raghavan

Dr. J. Filliozat, presenting Dr. Raghavan the Felicitation Volume brought out in his honour by the Adyar Library



DR. V. RAGHAVAN SHASHTYABDAPURTI CELEBRATIONS

August 22, 1968

The celebrations of the 61st Birthday of Dr. V. Raghavan was organised by a Committee of his friends, students and admirers and representatives of various organisations with which he had been actively connected for long time. The Committee was headed by Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, B.A., B.L., M.L.C., with Sri C, Seshachalam Chettiar and Sri T. S. Rangarajan as Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer and Sri P. K. Japee and Dr. S. S. Janaki as Secretaries. The Committee had several meetings to draw up the programme of the celebration. At their request Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Former Union Minister of Finance, Chairman, UGC., and Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board, agreed to be the Chairman of the celebrations. The Music Academy, Madras of which Dr. Raghavan had been Secretary for a long time, agreed to place the Auditorium of the Music Academy at the disposal of the Committee for holding a Public meeting in honour of the occasion. Several organisations in the field of Sanskrit, Indian Thought and Culture, Music and Fine Arts all over the country, as well as scholars from all over India and representatives of Institutions agreed to be members of the Celebration Committee. The following is a list of Institutions and individuals of the Celebrations Committee.

Sanskrit College, Madras
Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras
Samskrit Academy, Madras
Samskrit Education Society, Madras
Adyar Library & Research Centre, Madras
Venkataramana Ayurvedic Dispensary & College, Madras
Samskrit Ranga, Madras
The South Indian Archaka Association, Madras
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Madras
Prof. M. Rangacharya Trust, Madras
Egmore Sanskrit School, Madras
Sri Karunananda Mandali, Madras
Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association, Madras
B. G. Paul & Co., Madras
Sri Kamakoti Kosasthanam, Madras
Music Academy, Madras

Teachers' College of Music, Madras
Madras Natya Sangh, Madras
Gujarati Brahma Samaj, Madras
Gujarati Mandal, Madras
A. M. M. Charities, Madras
Triplicane Cultural Academy, Madras
Mylapore Veda Adhyayana Sabha, Madras
Sanskrit Language Society of India, Madras
Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras
The Samskrita Sahitya Parishad, Tiruchi
Bharatiya Samskriti Vidyapith, Bangalore
Department of Post-Graduate Studies & Research in Sanskrit, University of Mysore
Music Trinity Sabha, Tiruvarur
Tyagaraja Gana Sabha, Eluru, A.P.
Gautami Vidya Pitham, Rajahmundry, A.P.
Music Society of Ceylon, Colombo
Sri Rama Gana Sabha, Colombo

MADRAS

Sri K. Balasubramanya Iyer
Dr. P. V. Rajamannar
Sri S. S. Vasan
Sri T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar
Sri M. Sudarsanam Iyengar
Sri T. Sadasivam
Sri S. Narayanaswami
Sri G. Narasimhan
Sri S. Sacchidanandam Pillai
Sri A. Shanmukha Mudaliar
Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer
Sri K. Chandrasekharan
Sri C. Seshachalam
Sri C. R. Pattabhiraman
Sri T. V. Rajagopalan
Sri S. Y. Krishnaswami
Sri T. K. Shanmugam
Sri Mudicondan C. Venkatarama Iyer
Sri Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer
Sri Veppathur Subrahmanya Sastrigal
Sri Semmangudi R. Srinivasa Iyer
Mrs. Radha Burnier
Sri M. M. Gurunath
Sri M. V. Venkataraman
Sri Udipi Ramesh Rao
Prof. R. Mahadevan
Sri M. Periaswami Thooran
Sri J. R. Trivedi
Sri V. Kalidas
Sri D. Anjaneyulu
Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja
Mrs. Y. G. Parthasarathy
Sri N. Ramaratnam
Sri P. K. Japee
Sri V. T. Rajan
Sri C. Rama Iyer
Sri K. Nilakantan
Sri D. Ramalinga Reddy
Sri T. K. Venkateswaran
Smt. K. Savithri Ammal
Sri T. S. Rangarajan
Dr. S. S. Janaki
Sri Embar Vijayaraghavachariar
Sri Agnihotram Ramanuja Thathachariar
Dr. B. R. Saxena
Sri K. P. S. Menon
Dr. J. C. Mathur (I.C.S.)

Dr. R. K. Sharma
Sri S. Dayal
Dr. Nagendra
M/s. Motilal Banarsidas
Dr. D. K. Gupta
Dr. S. N. Vyas
Sri V. Venkatachalam
Mm. V. V. Mirashi
Dr. Vishveswar Prasad
Dr. B. J. Sandesara
Prof. V. K. Gokak
Sri G. V. Gundappa
Dr. G. Marulasiddiah
Dr. G. S. Gai
Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer
Sri K. M. Munshi
Sri S. Ramakrishnan
Madame Sophia Wadia
Sri M. Pandurangi
Prof. R. Srinivasan
Dr. Thomas W. Simons
Dr. R. N. Dandekar
Pandit Rewa Shankar Trivedi
Dr. A. N. Upadhye
Dr. Gaurinath Sastri
Sri Thakore Jayadev Singh
Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji
Dr. Chintaharan Chakravarti
Swami Prajnanananda
Sri Srijivanyaya Tirtha
Dr. Shiv Mangal Singh Suman
Sri V. Sitaramiah
Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer
Dr. Samuel Mathai
Sri G. Sankar Kurup
Sri N. V. Krishna Warriar
Dr. Aryendra Sharma
Dr. P. Sriramachandrudu
Prof. K. S. Viswanathan
Prof. T. P. Minakshisundaram Pillai
Dr. P. C. Sitaraman
Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran
Sri L. S. Parthasarathy Iyer

It was decided that, in addition to the holding of a public meeting, addresses in Sanskrit and English be presented to Dr. V. Raghavan, that a volume in commemoration of his 61st Birthday be published and that, according to the availability of funds, other steps be also taken, such as the founding of a lecture in his name. The Committee issued an appeal over the names of the following:

Sri M. Sudarsanam Iyengar
Sri C. Seshachalam
Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer
Sri A. Shanmuga Mudaliar
Sri K. Balasubramanya Iyer
Sri Satchidanandam Pillai
Sri Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer
Sri T. Sadasivam
Sri D. Ramalinga Reddy
Sri T. S. Rangarajan
Dr. S. S. Janaki

and a considerable amount of money was collected by way of donations from Institutions and individuals. It was also resolved that the *Felicitation Volume* in honour of Dr. V. Raghavan 61st Birthday, containing research papers by foreign Indologists, brought out as a Special Number of the *Brahma Vidya* by the Adyar Library and the *Annotated Bibliography of all the writings of Dr. V. Raghavan* brought out by some of his students be released on the occasion and that Dr. J. Filliozat, Director of French Indo-

CC-O. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection. Digitized By Siddhanta eGangotri Gyaan Kosha

logical Institute, Pondicherry and Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras be requested to release the above two volumes on the occasion. Sri T. Sadasivam informed the committee that as part of the celebrations Smt. M. S. Subbulakshmi would give a vocal music concert before the beginning of the public meeting.

The Committee prepared for presentation on the occasion a Citation setting forth the bio-data of Dr. Raghavan, a statement of his career and the national and international honours received by him.

The public felicitation meeting was held accordingly on 22nd August, 1968 in the Auditorium of the Music Academy, Madras under the Presidentship of Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. There was a large audience including scholars and representatives of Institutions from Madras and several places outside Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala States. The proceedings began with a vocal concert, marked by dignity, serenity and charm, by Smt. M. S. Subbulakshmi and party.

The function then began with recitation by Pandits from all the four Vedas, Ṛk, Kṛṣṇa Yajus, Śukla Yajus and Sāman.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer then announced that blessings for the function had been received from Their Holinesses Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha and Sri Visvesvara Tirtha of Pejawar Math.

His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha had sent representatives from the Math with blessings, a Shawl and a *Navartna Mala*. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer gave these to Dr. Raghavan, as also Prasadas from some Temples, and presentations from His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

The Committee brought out also a booklet containing messages and appreciations of the work of Dr. Raghavan received from Institutions, individuals and scholars from all over India and foreign countries. This was announced and a few select messages from these were read.

On behalf of the Felicitation Committee Sri C. Seshachalam Chettiar, the Treasurer then read the following address:

"We, the Members of the Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations Committee, have great pleasure in presenting this Address to you on the occasion of your 61st Birthday expressing our felicitations and good wishes for your long life, health and continued service in the cause of Sanskrit Studies, Research and Indian Culture.

Born at the sacred Tiruvarur in 1908, you graduated from the Presidency College, Madras after a brilliant academic career, having won many prizes and medals. You took your M.A. Degree in 1930, specialising in Sanskrit language and literature, Comparative Philology and the Sastras. Later, you specialised in *Alankara* and *Natya Sastras* and took your Ph.D. Degree in 1935 on a learned thesis on King Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,* an enlarged and revised edition of which won the Sahitya Akademi prize for 1966.

You are one of the foremost pupils of the renowned savant Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, and earned his affection and esteem. Soon after, you joined the Research Department of the Madras University and, in course of time, rose to the position of the Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit. As Professor, you have taught and guided several research scholars, Indian and foreign, and have been, in addition, responsible for the arduous preparation and publication of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* a difficult and important work undertaken by the University of Madras.

You have written many books on subjects connected with Sanskrit and Indological research and articles in almost all the Research Journals in India and abroad. There is hardly a department of Sanskrit Studies to which you have not made valuable contribution. You have deservedly achieved a great reputation as a scholar and research worker throughout India and your scholarship has been appreciated by colleagues in Europe, America and the Far-East. You have also travelled in Europe, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Japan and the Far-East and gained first-hand knowledge of their methods of research and of the valuable Sanskrit manuscripts in the libraries in those countries.

Apart from your scholarship, you are also a poet of a high order. Your *Mahakavya* on the life and *Kritis* of Muthuswami Dikshitar, one of the Trinity of Carnatic music, earned for you the

insignia of *'Kavi Kokila'* from His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Pitha. The *Journal of the Music Academy* edited by you for more than thirty years stands as a monumental example of your sound scholarship and research. You have also edited the *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, for more than 20 years. You have done enduring work in the Sanskrit Commission, the Central Sanskrit Board, the Central Sanskrit Institute and the Indology Committee of the Ministry of Education of India and also other academic bodies like the All-India Oriental Conference, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Sahitya Akademi, the Madras Sanskrit Academy and the Madras State Sangita Nataka Sangam. As one of the secretaries of the Music Academy for nearly three decades, you made its usefulness felt in distant parts of India and in America, United Kingdom and other countries abroad. Your interest in histrionics combined with researches in dramaturgy have been responsible for the progressive activities of the Samskrita Ranga and the Madras Natya Sangh.

Your services to the cause of Sanskrit and Indian Culture have been varied and distinguished. Your wide and profound learning and your prodigious industry have earned for you many distinctions including the Indian Union's conferment on you of *Padma Bhushan.* We heartily wish you a long life, prosperity and happiness.

Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations Committee

The Address was presented to Dr. Raghavan in a Silver Casket.

Congratulations were then offered to Dr. Raghavan by Institutions in the City and the mofussil; some of them presented also printed addresses in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu. The following Institutes presented addresses or garlands.

Sanskrit College and Savitri Ammal Oriental High School; Samskrita Academy and Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, (Address in Sanskrit, prose read by Panditaraja Sri V. Subramanya Sastrigal); Sanskrit Education Society, Pettai, (Sanskrit verses read by Pt. Srivatsankacharya); Ahobila Mutt Educational Institutes (in English and Sanskrit read by Sri Ramaswami Iyengar, Principal, Ahobilam Sanskrit College, Madhuranthakam);

Department of Sanskrit and Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore (in English read by Dr. G. Marulasiddaiah); the South Indian Archka Sangha, Madras, (in Tamil and Telugu); Tanjore Sarawathi Mahal Library and Ayurveda Literary Research Unit (Sanskrit, prepared in the form of palmleaf ms.); Dr. M. Narasimhachari, (pupil of Dr. Raghavan, Sanskrit verses); Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Tiruchy; Gautami Vidya Pitham, Rajahmundry; Sanskrit College, and Prayaga Pandita Parishad, Allahabad.

Garlands were offered to Dr. Raghavan by several Cultural organisations in the city and outside. The Lakshmipuram Young Men's Association, The Gujarati Brahman Mandal, The Prof. M. Rangacharya Trust, The Gautami Vidya Pitha, Rajahmundry and others.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Chairman of the organising committee of the Celebrations then spoke. Dr. C. D. Deshmukh then gave a speech as President of the function and presented Dr. Raghavan with a set of felicitation verses in Sanskrit composed by him for the occasion, which are printed elsewhere in this volume.

Sri T. V. Rajagopalan and Sri V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar of the Music Academy, Madras, presented a shawl on behalf of the Academy and Sangita Kalanidhi Sri Mudicondan C. Venkatarama Aiyar an address and a Ponnadai on behalf of Teachers' College of Music.

Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University then spoke and in token of releasing a copy of the Annotated Bibliography of Dr. Raghavan's writings, presented a copy of the same to him. Then, on the request of Mrs. Sita Nilakanthan, Librarian, Adyar Library, Dr. Jean Filliozat released the Dr. Raghavan Felicitation Volume of the *Brahma Vidya* (*Adyar Library Bulletin*).

There were then felicitation speeches by Sri T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar, Retd. Judge of the Supreme Court and President of the Music Academy, Swami Kirtitananda of Ramakrishna Mission, Hon'ble Justice Sri K. S. Venkataraman, President, Madras State Sangitha Nataka Sangham, Sri Agnihotram Ramanuja, Tatachariar, Prof. K. K. Pillay of the University of Madras, Sri T. K. Shanmugam, veteran actor of the Tamil stage and Sangita Kalanidhi Sri Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer. Reports of these speeches are given below:

Dr. V. Raghavan then replied and Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer spoke thanking all those who made the celebration a success. The function ended with a singing of Mangalam in Sanskrit by Kum. R. Vedavalli.

The celebrations were also marked by a production by the Samskrita Ranga, Madras under the direction of Dr. Raghavan, President of the Samskrita Ranga, the new Sanskrit Drama 'Anarkali' in 10 acts written by him, in the Museum Theatre under the Presidentship of Prof. Sher Singh, Minister of Education, New Delhi. Shri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer and Prof. Sher Singh spoke on the occasion. The celebrations were continued under the auspices of the Madras Natya Sangh, when under the Chairmanship of Hon'ble Justice Sri K. S. Venkataraman, President of the Madras State Sangeet Nataka Sangam, the Natya Sangh presented its President Dr. Raghavan a Souvenir and Sri K. Chandrasekharan released Dr. Raghavan's Sanskrit Play *Vimukti* and the United Amateur Artists produced an one-act Tamil farce entitled *Genius Appa* written by Dr. Raghavan. The details of the last two functions are to be seen in the Special Felicitation Volume of the *Samskrita Ranga Annual.*

REPORT OF SPEECHES

Sri K. Balasubrahmania Iyer:

Distinguished President of this function, Revered Vice-Chancellor, my respected friends, Dr. Filliozat, Dr. Raghavan, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha has blessed Raghavan and has presented a shawl to him. (Applause as he wrapped Dr. Raghavan with the Shawl).

On behalf of the Celebration Committee I extend to all of you a very hearty welcome to this great and auspicious function which has begun with Vedic prayers. It has also begun with a beautiful performance, a delightful performance given by Smt. Subbulakshmi. Thereby she has put all of us in a tranquil state of mind so that we may appreciate the services of a great scholar. We have to extend a special welcome to the President of this function. We are all very happy that Dr. Deshmukh has kindly consented to

preside over this function. Dr. Deshmukh is a scholar, statesman and administrator. He is as good in composing Sanskrit verses as he is good in framing a budget. He is an expert in the Sanskrit language and literature and at the same time he is an expert in finance and administration. It is a scholar like him that must preside over this function. It is not because he was the Governor of Reserve Bank of India, not because he was the Finance Minister of the Government of India nor even the Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, but because he is the Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board and is a scholar we welcome him to this function. There is an old adage in Sanskrit which says:

"Vidvān eva vijānāti vidvaj-jana-pariśramam"

'Scholars only can appreciate a prodigious industry and learning of other scholars.' Those who are not scholars cannot appreciate it because they can never realise the hard work that has to be put in before the literary output of a great scholar is possible. We are now gathered to honour and to felicitate Dr. Raghavan. To this function there is also another function attached, namely the release of the Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. Raghavan. Other Bibliographies may contain two or three pages, but Dr. Raghavan's Bibliography contains 370 pages. He has written 86 works and 780 articles and I do not think any other scholar in our country would show such a mass of work, work voluminous and luminous at the same time. That Volume is to be released by our revered Vice-Chancellor who is now completing the 26th year of his Vice-Chancellorship after the 20th of August. And Dr. Raghavan completes his 60 years on the 21st of August. The Vice-Chancellor is a person who can judge the work and worth of Dr. Raghavan. He has been intimately connected with the work of Dr. Raghavan. He has seen Raghavan's work and has realised his capacity and no fitter person can we have for the purpose of releasing the Bibliography of Dr. Raghavan. That Bibliography contains a valuable Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and also an introduction by Dr. Ingalls, Professor of Sanskrit at the Harvard University. If you just go through the pages of the Bibliography you will be convinced that all of us here present have to pay a great tribute to the profound learning and scholarship of Dr. Raghavan. Nobody, I can say, can claim like Raghavan that he has covered all the aspects of Indian Culture, Sanskrit Literature, Sanskrit Poetics, Indological

Research, Sanskrit Drama, Dance, Music, Āgamas, Śilpa, every aspect of Indian Culture. You will find that Dr. Radhakrishnan says in his Foreword that Raghavan covers the whole of Indian Culture, a statement from him, one of the foremost philosophers and scholars of the world which forms a fitting tribute to the great learning and capacity of Dr. Raghavan.

Next we have a Volume of the *Brahma Vidya* of the Adyar Library containing articles from Foreign Scholars in America, Germany, Holland and England and so on and published as a Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. V. Raghavan; that Volume is to be released by my friend Dr. J. Filliozat. Dr. J. Filliozat is a Director of the French Indological Institute at Pondicherry and he has made a special study on the cultural history of South-East Asia and the relations of India with South East-East Asia all through the centuries, and is a valuable mine of information. I have moved with him very intimately in the great Sadas with Sri Sankaracharya Swami of Kanchi held in Elayathangudi in 1962. I know the great work he has been doing as Director of the Indological Institute at Pondicherry. He is a worthy person to release this very valuable Felicitation Volume.

I welcome all of you here who have come to this function with a tranquil mind, with the one object of appreciating the services of a great scholar. Dr. Raghavan has completed 60 years of life. For 38 years he has dedicated himself to the cause of the promotion of Sanskrit Studies and Research. There is not any department of Sanskrit Studies to which he has not contributed his own work and thought. Some of the few outstanding works alone I will mention. I would mention his work on the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of King Bhoja that he submitted as a Thesis in the beginning in 1934-35. It earned for him the Ph.D. Degree from three great scholars Drs. Sylvain Levi, F. W. Thomas and A. B. Keith. Afterwards he revised and enlarged the same and published it fully in 1963. He has covered here the whole field of Sanskrit poetics or Alankara Literature from the very beginning, from the days of Bharata to our recent times. King Bhoja has emphasised the fact that Śṛṅgāra is the only Rasa and every other Rasa is a modification of this Rasa. It is not from the point of view of the commonly known sex aspect that Bhoja said this but from that of the true philosophical aspect of the concept of Rasa.

Dr. Raghavan is not merely a research worker, but he is also a poet; he has composed a *Mahākāvya* on Sri Muthuswami Dikshitar. Muthuswami Dikshitar is an artist of a high degree in music and was a great Bhakta and Upāsaka of Devī, Gaṇapati etc. Dr. Raghavan's *Mahākāvya* on this great composer's life and contributions has earned the tribute of the Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi and His Holiness conferred upon him the title of *Kavikokila* after reading through that fully and carefully for many days. The next work I would like to mention is that on Tyagaraja, the other great composer. Sri C. Ramanujachariyar began the translation of Tyagaraja's songs, but it was Dr. Raghavan that finally completed the whole work, and gave the text of nearly 600 songs of Tyagaraja in Devanagari script so that those who do not know Telugu character may read them. He has done here a valuable work in editing all these songs and at the same time contributing a valuable Introductory Thesis on the life and thought of Tyagaraja. The book is well worth reading by all musicians and musicologists and students of Indian religion and philosophy in the whole of India.

The next great work, Sir, is, I would say, *The Indian Heritage*, a book which was published with the special help of our Vice-Chancellor when he was Chairman of the Unesco Executive in the year 1956. You may see the connection which the Vice-Chancellor has had with many of Raghavan's writings. In this work Raghavan has translated many selections from Sanskrit liberature beginning from the Ṛgveda down to the end of the classical age so as to present the fundamental concepts and aspects of Indian Culture. This very valuable book carries a Foreword by the first President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who commends its easy and readable style. It is a great work that Raghavan has done here for propagating the principles of Indian Culture in the world. One more work, I will mention and that is the *Sarva Deva Vilasa* a work which entailed much research on the part of Dr. Raghavan on the City of Madras as it was in the 18th Century and there he has shown how the leading merchant magnates of Madras vied with each in the upkeep and management of Temples and in encouraging music and Sanskrit. To this very important work, a Foreword was written by our former Chief Minister Sri M. Bakthavatsalam.

There is one very important work that is going on in the University and it might well be mentioned by the Vice-Chancellor; it is a pleasure to me also to refer to this magnum opus of Dr. Raghavan, the *Catalogous Catalogorum.* Many people do not understand this. It means the Catalogue of Catalogues. Professor Th. Aufrecht brought out the first Catalogous Catalogorum of Sanskrit Mss. in 1875. Afterwards thousands of mss. have come to be known in collections all over the world and all these mss. and the catalogues of these mss. had to be studied, various references had to be checked and their cataloguing is a labour of great magnitude. I myself know to some extent what the difficulty of the work is. It is not an ordinary work. Dr. Johnson took seven years for bringing out his English Dictionary in the 19th Century. The Sanskrit mss. scattered through out the world and the Catalogues from all places had to be looked into and entries correctly identified, especially works or authors of same names. All these very important points have to be examined, decided and finally put into shape and the printer also contributes great difficulties because of the diacritical marks and other details of printing of works of this type. The whole thing is a very difficult one which many people do not understand. All these factors contribute to the length of period taken for finishing this stupendous work. But all the primary work that has to be done has been already done by Dr. Raghavan. The four volumes already brought out by him show not only the labour involved but also the method and manner he has adopted for this work. That is what I want to impress upon you. The only thing to be completed is the editing, printing and publishing of the further volumes of that work. On account of the fact that he engaged himself in this grand work, all scholars throughout the world apply to Dr. Raghavan for information on every point and I know several cases personally myself. It is, therefore, no exaggeration when I make these statements about Dr. Raghavan. I may say in conclusion, after fully knowing his work on mss. that he is a "walking Encyclopaedia of information" (Applause) on all Sanskrit mss., literature, books, authors and so on.

It is such a great scholar whom we are all gathered here in the fullness of our heart to appreciate, to honour him for his great services and to pay our tributes to him. It is in the tradition of

Sanskrit that our poets do not want any money; the Kings offered them a seat and gave two *Tāmbūlas* and they were satisfied. That was the simple nature of our great poets of the past and this continues to be nature of all those who are interested in Sanskrit studies even at the present day. Dr. Raghavan has dedicated himself wholly and every minute of his life, he has spent for the sake of the promotion of Sanskrit studies and research.

I therefore welcome all of you here and I will request the distinguished speakers whom we have chosen and invited for the present function to speak. Justice T. L. Venkatarama Iyer, who is himself a Sanskrit scholar and musician, has been associated for long with Dr. Raghavan in the Music Academy and knows fully the ability of Dr. Raghavan; Justice K. S. Venkataraman, President of the Madras State Sangeeta Nataka Sangham with which body Dr. Raghavan has been associated from its inception; The Ramakrishna Mission Swami who has also been the Editor of *Prabhuddha Bharata* for a time will speak of Dr. Raghavan particularly with reference to the Ramakrishna Mission with which Dr. Raghavan has co-operated; Sri V. K. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M.L.C., formerly leader of opposition and a colleague of mine in the Madras Legislature is a Trustee of the Music Academy and had opportunities to watch closely Dr. Raghavan's work at the Music Academy for a long time. My friend T. K. Shanmugam is a great actor on the Tamil stage but at the same time he appreciates acting in Sanskrit plays and whenever Dr. Raghavan puts on board a play in Sanskrit, T. K. Shanmugam always makes it a point to attend the performance. Sri Agnihotram Tatachariar a celebrated scholar in Veda knows fully the great work done by Dr. Raghavan and has moved with him closely. There is then Sangitakalanidhi Sri Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer. I have known him for the last 43 years and from the time of his first performance in Madras for the 3rd All-India Oriental Conference; he knows the able work done by Dr. Raghavan in musicology. Prof. K. K. Pillay, Professor of History and now Professor for Asian Studies and Cultural relations of India and other countries in the University of Madras can appraise and appreciate Dr. Raghavan fully as an old colleague of his at the University. These are not only distinguished speakers but also they have a knowledge of the work of Dr. Raghavan. I may appeal to all of you here that even if the function takes a

somewhat longer time, for the sake of Sanskrit studies, for the sake of Indian culture and for the sake of honouring Dr. Raghavan, you may remain till the end of the function. (Applause).

C. D. Deshmukh:

Chairman of the Celebration Committee and Scholars, Dr. V. Raghavan and Smt. Raghavan, Dr. Mudaliar, Dr. Filliozat, my distinguished fellow speakers and friends:

I am very grateful to the Chairman of the Celebration Committee for the kind references that he has made to me. This is the first time in my life that I have heard M.S.S. as well as the recitation from four Vedas at the same session. I consider it a privilege as well as a pleasure to participate in this function. To me personally it is a privilege. In my public capacity as Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board, it is a pleasure. I have known Dr. Raghavan for about 15 years and curiously enough, our first acquaintance was through the Music Academy, I think a little before he became full Professor of Sanskrit. Since then I have been in continuous touch with him. I suppose the common bond of Sanskrit drew us together. He has been good enough to send me copies of some of his writings including the very interesting account that he has written on his visits abroad of Sanskrit Studies in foreign countries. I have looked through some of his books and I was associated with him on the occasion of the release of the collection of Tyagaraja Songs. Then I have worked with him for sometime on the Sanskrit Board of the Sahitya Akademi and indeed it is perhaps through our joint encouragement that the Akademi was induced to start the Sanskrit Journal which, we agreed, we should call *Samskṛta Pratibhā*, as it makes a special point of encouraging modern writing in Sanskrit. Recently he has laid me under a debt of obligation by writing the foreword to my small book of Sanskrit Poems which is going to be published soon by Messrs Motilal Banarsidass. Therefore casting my eyes over the Bibliography which is going to be released, I was happy to see that item 736 relates to this particular work, a Foreword to my book about to come. I have also some idea of the monumental work that he has done both in regard to the *Catalogus*

Catalogorum and the account he has given of his researches into the State mss. in this country and abroad. Some of you would be surprised to learn that the total number of mss. largely in this country would approach a million, although this would include a number of versions of the same work and one ms. or codex might contain four or five different works. It can only be a guess as to how much Sanskrit literature still awaits publication and deserves in the meanwhile the kind of care that old mss. need in this country. Dr. Raghavan is a very valuable colleague of mine on the Central Sanskrit Board as also on the Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla of which I happen to be Vice-Chairman and whilst I was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, he has helped us on Selection Committees on a couple of occasions when we wanted to fill the vacant post of Professor of Sanskrit. I have always admired Dr. Raghavan's meticulous scholarship, prodigious labour and diversity of interests. He is both a scholar and a creative critic, has both depth and breadth as has been pointed out in the introduction to this book that is going to be released, in Sanskrit learning and in the some total thereof. I regard him as easily amongst the top-most ranks of the very few Sanskritists that we have in India. (Applause). Indeed I would call him a complete Sanskrit Scholar. It was hoped or it is the hope of some of us who are interested in Sanskrit, without claiming to be real scholars in the language, that sometime or the other there would be an Advance Centre of Sanskrit here in this University (i.e. at Madras) so that there might be opportunity for the utilisation of scholarship of this order in both research and advance studies. I do also know having visited the Institute, that Dr. Raghavan has done very valuable pioneer work in setting up the Central Institute of Sanskrit at Tirupati. But it is on the Central Sanskrit Board that I for the last year and a half have much more frequently come into contact with Dr. Raghavan and we must learn to rely on the precision of his thought and his deligence on the various committees through which the matters submitted to the Board have to be examined. We are now on the 26th going to have a meeting at which we shall consider the so-called 4th Year Plan so far as the promotion of Sanskrit is concerned. This is not the time or occasion on which I should make observations in regard to what is being done by the Central Sanskrit

Board. I believe from the experience that I have had that we have a good opportunity of promoting Sanskrit, although none of us would say that we are content with the order of finances that the Government of India is at the present juncture able to place at our disposal. I should not take any more of your time but, like the others, I have also composed few verses which I should now like to read out. (These verses are printed at the beginning of the volume).

Dr. A. L. Mudaliar

Mr. President, Dr. & Mrs. Raghavan, Ladies & Gentlemen;

I am thankful to the organisers of this meeting for giving me this opportunity to join with you all in felicitating Dr. & Mrs. Raghavan on their Shashtyabdapurti Day. Perhaps there are very few here who have had administrative contact with Dr. Raghavan for as long a period as I have had. In fact as member of the Syndicate, I first came to know of Dr. Raghavan. In those days he was working under the great Sanskrit scholar Mm. Kuppuswami Sastriar who occupied the Chair of Sanskrit in the Presidency College and whose name and fame were well-known all over South India, nay whole of India. With the meticulous care with which he used to devote himself to every task entrusted to him was not so wellknown. He was the chairman of the Examining Board of the Oriental Titles which comprised five or six different branches and I well remember his sitting in the Senate Hall with a dozen Sanskrit Scholars from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on three or four days correcting, re-correcting and editing the question papers. Those were good old days but perhaps bad old days, because today the examiners generally set a question paper either on their motor journey or on their train journey or they get hold of the previous papers and pass it off as their own question papers. I do not say so in regard to what happens with Sanskrit but I know it has happened with the other branches, like Tamil. Trained under such a great disciplinarian, it was no wonder that Dr. Raghavan from the very start was meticulous in his work and devoted to his studies. He has done monumental work. I am not capable of expressing any opinion on this work, but the volume that I have just gone through with the Introduction, the Preface etc. gives me

room to think that he had concealed all these labours for a very long time. Few people knew all this and I am glad that on this occasion it has been possible for the Committee to release this Bibliography of the work that he has done so well. Not merely as a great Sanskrit scholar but as one who has devoted himself to many other fields of activity, music, poetry and play-writing, various other ancillary lines of the Sanskrit literatures, Dr. Raghavan has established his reputation as one of the great professors of Sanskrit in our country.

References have been made to the monumental work that had been undertaken by him in the University, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. It was in the year 1929, when we as Delegates of the Madras University attended the 5h Conference of Universities in Delhi that Prof. Woolner, then Vice-Chancellor of the Lahore University, brought forward the suggestion that the work, the *Catalogus Catalogorum* which was published in 1901 should now be revised and enlarged in view of very large number of mss. and other publications in Sanskrit that were now available all over the country. We accepted this suggestion of Dr. Woolner and when we returned to Madras, I remember, we consulted Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri who wholeheartedly agreed to be the first Editor-in-Chief, if I remember right, of *Catalogus Catalogorum* and he selected Dr. Raghavan as the Research Scholar for the work. From that day Dr. Raghavan has been in the University in various capacities and in 1955 he was made the Professor of Sanskrit in the University. In connection with the *Catalogus Catalogorum* work he has travelled extensively. The University sent him to various centres in Europe, America and other places. He has been, I know, to Nepal and other South-East Asian countries also. I well remember when I went to West Germany about 8 years ago and met some who were great scholars in Oriental literatures, they asked about the *Catalogus Catalogorum* and made kindly references to Dr. Raghavan, who had preceded me, and was collecting his inventory of various mss. collections there. I am hopeful that ere long, through the assistance of Mr. Balasubramania Iyer and the Staff of the Department, we shall have the pleasure of releasing the last of the volumes of *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Four volumes have been released and today I got a letter from the University Grants Commission announcing a further contribution of

Rs. 60,000, but as is usual with the University Grants Commission today, with the condition that we must expedite and finish it in two years time. I wish they realised the magnitude of this work, but it is good to have such reference because it will energise us to do whatever we can as early as possible. It is needless for me to say how much Dr. Raghavan has contributed to the cultural and particularly to those activities with which he has been so closely associated. I am very glad indeed that this Bibliography is to be released and I am very happy to release it. Few persons, few of us can claim for ourselves a bibliography of such tremendous proportion which includes articles of various forms, from erudite articles to articles in commemoration volumes, poetry, in fact everything. I hope and trust that this volume will give an impetus to scholars and Sanskritists to do something of the work that Dr. Raghavan has undertaken and to emulate his example. I am happy to be here to felicitate him on his Shashtyabdapurti and I hope and trust those of you who are younger will celebrate his Satabhishekam when the time comes.

Thank you very much.

I have much pleasure in releasing this volume—the Bibliography of his writings and presenting it to Dr. Raghavan.

Dr. Jean Filliozat:

I feel much honoured and I am very happy to release the Felicitation Volume presented to Dr. Raghavan by a group of foreign Sanskritists and Indologists.

This big book consists entirely of their contributions. They have sent them from all countries around the world where Sanskrit and Indology are cultivated and where Dr. Raghavan's work is well known and highly appreciated. Not only the multiplicity of their articles but also the variety of the subjects they have dealt with, correspond to the range and to the diversity of Dr. Raghavan's own scientific achievements. As well as in the field of Sanskrit literature and Alaṃkāraśāstra, as in general Indology, with the tremendous work of the New Catalogus Catalogorum, and in many other fields, Dr. Raghavan is rendering an immense service to the international studies in Sanskrit and Indology. This book is a token of gratitude of the foreign scholars throughout the world to Dr. Raghavan.

Sri T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me first express my great pleasure in participating in this function. I have known Dr. Raghavan, I think now for more than 40 years. I think I first met him in connection with a Drama which was staged in Sanskrit and he appeared as one of many actors; and myself having been an actor for even years earlier than this, I was, naturally very much interested in his acting and we became great friends. Since then we have had several opportunities of moving together in the two fields in which I am myself very much interested, Sanskrit and Music, and we have moved closely together all these 40 years in these two fields. I have seen Dr. Raghavan's growing stature under my very eyes and I am very happy that today we are celebrating his Shashtyabdapurti on a grand scale. I participate in this function with an affection which an elder brother has got for his younger brother who has acquired recognition. Well, I ask what is the reason for this great enthusiastic reception which is given to him on this occasion? It is this: He is one of the greatest exponents of our culture and it is that has really attracted all this homage from persons of different walks of life. After all a nation lives in its culture. The strength of the nation is in culture. India is honoured because of its achievements in the fields of culture and Dr. Raghavan is honoured as a person who has devoted his time and made researches in fields in which the Indian culture excells viz. Sanskrit and Music. It is this that is responsible for the great recognition which he has obtained all the world over. His scholarship is of the highest type. The Indian tradition is that you must learn, you must acquire knowledge for its own sake, not for making money, not for getting appointments. That was the idea with which Dr. Raghavan had devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit. It is unnecessary for me to say very much about it because many speakers have spoken about it and I need not repeat them. His *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* is a wonderful work. I remember there is also a work which I very much liked "Lost Palys on Rama," a very beautiful and a very interesting work. His great knowledge of Sanskrit is only equalled by his industry and all his publications are expressions of his knowledge and his enthusiasm, of profound erudition and critical research. I do not say more about it. It is sufficient that his scholarship is recognised

not merely in India but all the world over. As Mr. Seshachalam Chettiar said: "*Svadeśe pūjyate Rājā Vidvān Sarvatra pūjyate.*" We must congratulate him on his scholarship which has acquired him international stature. I remember of the year 1955 there was in Madras an eminent Law Professor from London, Mr. Derret. Dr. Raghavan introduced him to me and we have since become friends and that Professor from London spoke to me in the highest terms of the scholarship of Dr. Raghavan.

That is one thing. There is another branch with which in fact I am more intimately connected and I am expected to speak about, namely his contributions to the cause of our music. I think it was in the year 1932 or 1933 when he began to take part in the Music Academy Conferences. I discovered early that with his knowledge of Sanskrit and interest in music he would be very valuable and indeed he has been my lieutenant, if I can say so, in all my work in the Music Academy. We are running a Music Journal which is one of the most learned Journals ever printed on a special subject and Dr. Raghavan is the person who is in charge of it. We owe to him the success and the learning of their publications in the Music Academy. Then there is the Teachers' College of Music whose object is the teaching and propagation of Classical Music. He is the person in charge of it and then Music Academy runs annual Conferences. No Conference will be complete without him. He is the person who is really in charge of the Conferences. We have only to read the reports of the Music Academy's Conferences to realise the tremendous amount of work which he has done and the great contribution which he has made. Thus when I look at his achievements in the field of Sanskrit or in the field of music, his achievements are of the highest order and we must be grateful to him for all the work he has done and express our appreciation. As Mr. Balasubramania Iyer pointed out, Vidvāns do not want very much of money or anything else; they want honour. Even a *Tāmbūlam* and a seat will be sufficient for them and that is their attitude. Dr. Raghavan is one of the greatest scholars which the country has produced, one of the greatest exponents of our culture and let me say how proud we are of his achievements, how glad we are that he has attained the age of sixty and it is our desire, our fervent prayer to the Lord, that He might give him a long life, his Śatābhishekam, "Āyur vai

sahasram" and "Śatamānam bhavati". In wish him a long life so that he can continue his work and confer the benefit of his knowledge and culture on humanity. May God bless him with a long life.

Swami Kirtitananda:

Dr. Deshmukh, Dr. & Mrs. Raghavan and friends:

I deem it a great privilege to have been invited to participate in this function. On behalf of the Ramakrishna Mission I offer my feliciations to Dr. Raghavan on the completion of his 60 years. When the Secretary of the Celebration Committee approached me with a request to come and address this function I was greatly hesitant. I was doubtful about my own fitness to be here and address the assembly because my acquaintance with Dr. Raghavan, my personal acquaintance with Dr. Raghavan, is very little. Though my personal acquaintance with Dr. Raghavan is very little I have been his sincere and great admirer for the last two decades or so. I have read some of the writings by him and about him and I have been greatly charmed by them. Of course whoever praises Dr. Raghavan will be first impressed by his scholarship. Nobody can but be impressed by his deep scholarship but the Indian minds always sought something deeper, some meaning deeper than what is apparent. If Dr. Raghavan were to be merely a scholar, his greatness would have been less. Of course India honours scholars, India honours learning, India pays homage to those who have spent their life for study of the scriptures, but at the same time the Indian mind, from a higher standpoint gives a second place to scholarship. As Sri Ramakrishna used to say *Grantha* is *Granthi*. From a higher standpoint, book-learning sometimes becomes a bondage. Even Sankaracharya or even the Vedas themselves, from this highest spiritual standpoint would say so. When I was in admiration years back on the one side of the scholarship of Dr. Raghavan and on the other side of this Indian attitude from a higher standpoint I received the book *Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja* and as I was going through the Introductory thesis I was simply amazed by the deep ocean of devotion in which Dr. Raghavan swam. Here he was a great intellectual, as the other speakers have said, one whose intellectual achievements are in-

comparable. He is unique, He is superior to many and second to none. Great as a scholar and an intellectual he is even greater as one steeped in devotion, according to the ideal held forth by Sri Ramakrishna. In him the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* join together, and mingling together harmoniously, have expressed themselves in service in the cultural fields and this is the type of character that India admires, that India has admired throughout the centuries, one in which *Jñāna* and *Bhakti,* knowledge and devotion, as well as *Karma* combine together for the upliftment of humanity and this is the character that has sustained India through the centuries. In the midst of the gloom and darkness of knowledge in which we are living today, I am so happy to find that we have in our midst such ideal types in the life of our society, and when we see such people living in our midst today we regain our hope that India can never be destroyed. So long as such people are there, India's cultural heritage can never be destroyed. Now I offer my felicitation to Dr. Raghavan on this occasion and seek the Lord's blessings for a happy and prosperous life for him so that the cultural heritage of India may be sustained through his further work and efforts. Thank you.

Hon'ble Justice Sri K. S. Venkataraman:

Respected President of the evening, Dr. & Mrs. Raghavan and other distinguished members of the audience:

I consider it a great privilege to be one of the speakers at this important and pleasant function. The main achievement of Dr. Raghavan is in the field of Sanskrit. Enough has been said about it and volumes could be written about it and I am not competent to speak about it. However, I think it will interest you to note that Sanskrit does not seem to have been the first love of Dr. Raghavan. He has himself told me that Science was his first love. But by some act of providence he could not get a seat in the Science Group and it turned out to the world's advantage. I think if he had taken to Science he would not be the great man that he is today. I think this itself is an example of how providence plays its part and I hope Dr. Raghavan's example could be followed by others. I think on this occasion it will also be appropriate if I recall to you one very interesting story which Mr. T. L.

Venkatarama Aiyar gave at a Conference at Tirunelveli where Sanskrit scholars spoke: "There was a rich man who left a legacy of about Rs. 10 lakhs to his only son, all that in the shape of cash, hard cash, locked in one particular room. But he had not left the key with his son. So his son was absolutely pennyless. Then somebody gave him the key and then he became rich." Sri T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar said Sanskrit was the key which opened the treasures of knowledge which were embedded in Sanskrit. I hope that, on this occasion, the importance of Sanskrit will be kept in view and it is fitting that our Vice-Chancellor recognises the need for the promotion and preservation of Sanskrit. I hope that Sanskrit will not die, but will be kept up.

The next thing I want to say is that actually I came into contact with Dr. Raghavan only at the Music Academy. Though there will be enough speakers like Sri Musiri Subrahmania Iyer and others to speak about Dr. Raghavan's activities in this field and contributions to the Music Academy, I think as one of the members of the Academy, as many of you here in the audience are connected with the Music Academy, I think I have special role to play before you. Many a time I have watched him at the Academy's Conference. He has been I think, the actual Secretary from about 1942 although with other work of the Academy he has been connected for a still longer time and has been editing the Journal from 1936. I have been almost constantly attending the Music Academy sessions from about 1939 since the time when they were held at the Senate House and I still remember how Dr. Raghavan used to stay on till about 12-00 or 12-30 in the night as the performance used to go on till that time. After going away at 12-30 midnight, you will find him promptly at 8 a.m. joining the Discussions and what an active part he played in the Discussions you all know. He was the authentic recorder of the proceedings of the Discussions which used to go on till 11 a.m. And again at 12.00 there were the competitions, and then the Junior performances, the evening performances and then the night performances. I do not know where he got all that energy and enthusiasm. In fact without meaning disparagement to the others, I think it is very right to say that Dr. Raghavan is one of the pillars of the Music Academy (applause) and I very unhesitatingly pay this tribute on behalf of you all as the members of the audience and members of the

Music Academy. I think this also renders legitimate some remark about the role which we as members of the audience of the Music Academy should play. It is because Music Academy has been keeping up the rich traditions of Carnatic Music that it is great; I think we as members of the audience should help the organisation of the Music Academy to preserve its tradition and we owe a great duty and I thought it just as well to remind ourselves about this great duty which owe to Carnatic Music. I now wish to speak a little more about Dr. Raghavan's devotion and culture. I think I should mention the great devotion which Dr. Raghavan has to our Kamakoti Acharya. I think like other great people he owes not a little to the deep devotion he has to our Kanchi Kamakoti Acharya. Not merely that. He is greatly disciplined and I believe he is one of those who do the *Sandhyavandanam* and its daily routine properly. I attach great importance to that because the religious values are falling in our life time and I think it is right to mention this here. I think everyday he prays to God and devotes sometime to meditation. But he is a Karma Yogin; as you all know he is one of those who do not rest content with sitting at home. He couples his knowledge with industry and makes both available for the benefit of the public; and Swamiji has mentioned to you about it, and the numerous organisations which take part in the proceedings today will show the high popularity which Dr. Raghavan rightly enjoys with many of the organisations with which he has been connected. He has been the Treasurer of the Hindu Dharma Prachara Sangam and the Vice-President of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee. His contribution is not merely in Sanskrit, Music and Religion, but in the fields of other arts, Dance and Drama. In collaboration with Smt. Balasarasvati he has brought out a book on *Bharata Natya*. His own daughter is a great dancer and he has been one of the founder members of the Sangeet Natak Sangham of which I happen to be the Chairman, and I believe he was responsible for proposing the name 'Sangam' instead of 'Akademi' for it. He has been connected with the Central Sangeet Natak Akademi also from the very beginning, and has since his Presidentship of the Natya Sangh, or Theatre Centre, Madras, built up that Body also.

Above all, in his personal life he is a man of character and this is very important. He is loyal as a friend. In short he is an

embodiment of all that is fine in Indian culture and in paying tribute to him, I think we should remind ourselves of what a true example he is of Indian culture, so that we may also follow in his footsteps. And that is the justification for the function today. By honouring him we are really honouring all that is best in our society.

Prof. K. K. Pillai:

Mr. Chairman, Dr. and Mrs. Raghavan, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have great pleasure in participaing in this happy function in connection with the Celebration of the Shashtyabdapurti of Dr. Raghavan. I have known him for over a quarter of a century when I joined the University of Madras as a Research Fellow in the Department of Indian History. I was obliged to seek his aid in connection with the understanding of and interpretation of certain ideas in the Agamas and the Puranas. Though I had studied a little bit of Sanskrit myself, I needed that help and he gave it willingly and ever since I have kept up my association with him and has had the benefit of understanding many valuable ideas connected with the interpretation of Indian history. A knowledge of Indian History including South Indian History cannot be really had without a knowledge of Sanskrit, as of the various other languages, the regional languages. Unfortunately sometimes, without realising the full importance, the full significance of particular languages, as specially in the present context, people enter into unseemly controversies. There is absolutely no ground for such controversies at least so far as the Universities are concerned. Controversy may be left to Politicians. Particularly, for even the understanding of South Indian History and Epigraphy, you would find in the case of many of the inscriptions,—Pandya, Chola, Vijayanagar, so forth, a knowledge of Sanskrit is needed. Many of these inscriptions are bilingual in character. They start in Sanskrit; they end up with the local language, Tamil, Kannada or Telugu. In the course of even the Tamil part of the inscriptions, there will be significant Sanskrit terms and therefore for a proper understanding of these, it is absolutely essential that we should know various languages and get the aid of other scholars, as Brahmasri Balasubramania Iyer indicated earlier. I started as Professor of

Indian History and then passed on to Social Science, and then passed on to Asian studies and so on. I do not know where I will stop. But in all these respects I have had the pleasure of seeking the co-operation of members of various departments of the humanities and languages, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam—and then so far as the Social Sciences are concerned, Departments of Philosophy, Psychology, Economics, Politics,—all these I have had to seek for help and they have willingly given me the help. It is not on account of any extraordinary quality in me, but it is on account of their willing co-operation I have been able to do what I have done.

Playing with the fantastic idea of secularisation of everything including education, we forget the noble ideals of education. Everybody would remember that in early times, the teacher was something like a *Rishi*, in the medieavel times in South India as well as in North India the Monks, the Maṭhadhipatis, all these carried the learning. The secularisation of education, like several other things, had occasionally tended to result in the deterioration of the lofty standards to be maintained by people who are working in the temple of learning. But people like Dr. Raghavan I am sure would still succeed in maintaining those lofty ideals by continuing to work strenuously for the promotion of Sanskrit learning and of other aspects of Indian culture. As has been pointed out by more than one speaker, it is not only Sanskrit but various aspects of Indian culture on which he has been working. He has devoted himself sincerely and wholeheartedly for the promotion of the various aspects of Indian culture. Controversies of various kinds there are and this was so, even in Universities; but no controversy should really result in any kind of animosity. There need not be any animosity between arts and sciences, between one language and another, because all these are essential for purposes of understanding the unity of culture and this is sometimes forgotten. It is up to people of the eminence of Dr. Raghavan to keep up the high ideals and also make it possible for people of various languages and various aspects of humanity, to preserve them and to continue them. His great interest in the music and in the fine arts has been mentioned. This is real study of culture, which cannot be had purely by the study of literature. You have to study literature, but you have to study also history, the fine

arts and culture, and various other aspects. I am, therefore, sure that as a person who embodies in himself a genuine love for and a real eagerness for work in these various branches of life, Dr. Raghavan has rendered a great service and I join the various previous speakers in wishing him a long life of usefulness, continuing his studies, his scholarship and his contribution to Indian Culture. I thank you.

Agnihotram Sri Ramanuja Tatacharya:

On this great occasion I am here to felicitate Dr. Raghavan on behalf of all Pandits of India. I know him for more than 30 years now. Once I met him in a Railway compartment. He travelled with me and as he personally knew me, he asked one question as I was a student of the Vedas and was making researches in them. The question was: "What do you know about Agastya of the Ṛgveda?" Firstly I confessed my ignorance because there was no direct or express mention of Agastya. Then he reminded me of the words *"Ubhau varṇau ṛṣir ugraḥ puposa"* and explained how the great Agastya was the sponsor and guardian of the two cultures by his contributions, most probably the Aryan and the Dravidian. This mantra is heard in connection with Agastya and the author of this mantra is a disciple of Agastya. It was at that time a revelation to me. From that time onwards, I began meeting him often and conversing with him on different research subjects. He gives striking ideas for further investigation. Another incident relating to Dr. Raghavan always remains in my mind. When at the Elayatthankudi *Sadas* the Jagadguru Swamigal of the Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha gave titles to all persons who had participated, the question arose as to what title was to be given to Dr. V. Raghavan. At that time Swamiji suddenly said that the title should be '*Sakala-kalā-kalāpa*'. I asked what His Holiness meant by this title and Swamiji explained that like the moon shining with all Kalās, Dr. Raghavan shone with his versatility in many Kalās. I am one having frequent contacts with him and in one sense I am also guided by his instructions and advice as I happened to do under his guidance two research projects as a Government of India Pandit Research Scholar. So

this is a great occasion for all Pandits in India to express their gratitude to Dr. Raghavan. On his completion of 60 years, I, on behalf of all Pandits convey our felicitations to him.

T. K. Shanmukham:

Respected Chairman, Prof. Raghavan and friends,

I am glad I have an opportunity of participating in this function for felicitating Dr. Raghavan. The treasures that are imbedded in Sanskrit are not the exclusive property of anybody. It is a common property of all India. As Subramanya Bharati has said in his beautiful lines on Kamban and Kalidasan, all this wealth in Sanskrit is as much the heritage of Tamils. Especially if you take the field of drama, it is Sanskrit drama on which Tamil also, like other languages, has to draw upon. Tamils too, like others, have got to go to the Sanskrit plays when they want to refer to the history of ancient Indian Theatre. Sanskrit drama is of great help to the growth and development of the Tamil Stage. I have often requested Dr. Raghavan to give in Tamil all the dramatic literature that is in Sanskrit and he has been promising to give me for my production the Mudrarakshasa in Tamil. I am still hoping that he would give it and I would like to remind him of that promise on this occasion. I have had an opportunity to listening to his lectures on the history and achievements of the Sanskrit Theatre and I would suggest to him that he should write this all out in the form of a book in Tamil.

Sri T. K. Shanmukham in conclusion sang a benedictory song from *Tiruppavai*.

Sangita Kalanidhi Sri Musiri Subrahmanya Iyer:

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Raghavan and friends,

Already several speakers have spoken about Dr. Raghavan and I want to mention only two or three additional points with reference to my own field. I feel proud to say that I know him for a long time and have moved with him and have had opportunities to know his distinction and learning. In fact everyday we

learn more and more of all these revealed to us. In this connection I want to refer especially the Annual Conference of the Music Academy. Those who have known the labour involved in the preparations for a day's marriage will easily realise the work involved in conducting a Conference for nearly a fortnight. Dr. Raghavan would be at the Conference Pandal in the mornings earlier than everybody else. As the Conference is proceeding, he goes on steering the items and at the same time keeps preparing the record of the proceedings for the publication of the official report in the Journal. It would appear like performing Ashtavadhanam. That he does not miss any important point will be clear when he gives the resume of the talks and expositions or thanks the participants. When he retires or rests, nobody could say. If we drop in at the office room we would find him there preparing some material of the Conference, reading of the proofs of a publication to be released or of the Journal or examining some music mss. in connection with the Experts' Committee proceedings. He would also bring up these materials at appropriate times and in a striking manner so as to enrich the proceedings of the Experts' Committee.

In the same manner he has a special equipment and interest in Bharata Natyam although many do not know this. He is equally interested in Hindustani music, in the presentation of which both at the Conference and concerts in the Academy he had consistently worked and has played a significant role in the promotion of understanding and appreciation of Hindustani here. His knowledge of music of the South or of the North has a wide background. It is a matter of pride to us that we have in our midst such a man of knowledge and let us pray to the Lord that he may be blessed with the full century of years, according to the Vedic benediction.

Dr. V. Raghavan's reply:

Respected Chairman, Sri Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Members of the celebration committee, dear colleagues, friends and beloved students!

On an occasion like this one who has been submitted to the ordeal of listening to one's own achievements being praised by elders, the pattern of reaction is bound to be conventional. Conventional means also traditional and tradition preserves precious elements of propriety. On this occasion I will be failing in my duty if I do not recall gratefully all those elders in my family and the teachers of my young years who sowed the seeds of my growth in later years and did all that was possible for the way in which my mind and being sculptured themselves all through these years and I became equipped for such tasks as it has been my lot to go through and fulfill. In this connection I should mention that in the good old days—I do not want to amend it as the bad old days as the Vice-Chancellor did on a second thought—we could study Sanskrit as an alternative to our mother tongue; and apart from studying Sanskrit as second language in School, I had private study at home of that language with Pandits in traditional style. As Justice K. S. Venkataraman said, my main subject for the SSLC was Chemistry and Botany, but my grounding in and love for Sanskrit were so strong that I switched over in the College to the IIIrd group which included language. There was a crisis in those days in College admission which were greatly under the impact of communal tension and I was unable to get a seat in the Chemistry and Botany group, the IInd, in the Presidency College. Botany was affiliated only in two Colleges, the Christian and the Presidency. I do not agree with Justice Venkataraman that I might not have shone in the field of science. I remember how as a student of Botany in the S.S.L.C. Classes, in the 5th and 6th Forms as they used to be called in those days, I had done advanced work in Botany and compiled even in those days a glossary of plants, trees and creepers with their Tamil name, Sanskrit name, common English name and scientific botanical name. My Botany teacher was extremely pleased with this glossary, and also with my drawings of plants, leaves and flowers. But somehow it was not that I should be a Scientist and what I could not do either in Chemistry or Botany, my two sons have done.

This ambivalence persisted even after I opted for Sanskrit and expressed itself in different forms; it may be Sanskrit on one side and music, dance and drama on the other; Sanskrit on one side and Indian History and archaeology on the other; or Sanskrit on one side and Indian Philosophy, religion and culture on the other. This could not have been avoided. I think, astrologers may find some justification for it—for one born in the house of Gemini, it is always something of a dual character. Sometimes people might mistake me that I am more in one thing than in the other. I was told by the one in highest authority in Delhi that sometimes it was asked 'Which Raghavan do you mean? 'Is it the one who is speaking or doing something in the music-dance-drama field or the one in the Sanskrit field?' This has persisted and I am carrying these on, although not without some strain and sacrifice. But you will realise that these are all intimately connected. Today with traditional practices and beliefs crumbling down, you will realise that it is this golden thread of Indian music and art by which all that we cherish in our culture is hanging. From my early days, at my native place I had been drawn to the company of the Bhāgavatas and their Bhajans and several other formative forces of this type in those days. It is not something that grew up in the city of Madras by association with friends here, the Sabhās and the great Academy and the opportunities that it had given me. This has been one of the main strings in my being. Indeed, as you will agree, this is one of the main strings of South Indians; wherever they are, whether in Madras, Calcutta, Nagpur, Matunga or Delhi, Carnatic music, devotion, Bhajan—all these are part and parcel of their daily life.

So far as Sanskrit is concerned, I should mention the main reason how at that stage I was instinctively drawn to it despite the advice, pressure, and arguments of those around me in the house who thought that I might take to Economics or History and sit for some competitive examination. When Science was not available to me, I asked for a combination of which I was the only representative in the Presidency College, namely Ancient History (Greek and Roman), Modern Logic and Sanskrit. I was the only student in this group and I got distinction in all the three subjects. At that time I had come to know of the great personality of Mm. S.

Kuppuswami Sastri who was Professor of Sanskrit at the Presidency College but for whom I would not be what I am. I owe all that I know in this field to him not only through what he actually taught but also by constantly remaining wih him and listening to whatever he said to me or to others. I am reminded of the traditional verse:

Yasya deve parā bhaktiḥ yathā deve tathā gurau/
Tasyaite (a) kathitā hyarthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanaḥ//

'If one has devotion to a teacher and venerates him as God Himself, not only what he taught one directly (kathitāḥ) but also all that which he did not teach directly (akathitāḥ), would come to one.' In addition to what Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri was as an individual, he was an institution in himself, as the Vice-Chancellor described him, recalling vividly the annual Examiners' meetings which he held like *Yagñas* for 3 or 4 days with about 30 Pandits and scholars come from all over South India and neighbouring Universities. One of these last mentioned who became a second Guru to me in all that I did, in all that I cherished in a Professor of Sanskrit, was Prof. M. Hiriyanna of Mysore who was also ambivalent as a Professor of Sanskrit and one very good in Philosophy. He was also a man of exemplary character and a writer who commanded a very clear style and an authentic way of expounding Indian Philosophy, without trying to make it presentable to the Western world. From him who was Professor of Sanskrit in Mysore, I learnt a good deal. From him I developed the idea of precision which included not only knowing what you knew precisely but also not saying a thing of which you were not sure. The third member of the trinity whom I have adored in my career as not merely a Professor but also as an exponent and promoter of Indian thought and culture is the former revered President of India. He has been a parent in almost all my activities based in Delhi, in Sanskrit and Indology, and but for his help I would not have been able to do the things that have been mentioned during this function on this platform, through the Sanskrit Commission, the Sahitya Akademi, the Indology Committee, the Central Sanskrit Board or the Central Sanskrit Institute in

Tirupati. In my work in all these bodies he has been the inspirer. So far as the University is concerned, I have to pay my grateful homage to the late President of this Academy Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer who was a powerful member of the Syndicate of the University of Madras. I mention him because not only was he a great tower of strength to us in the University, but he was also mainly responsible for my continuing in this University and continuing my *New Catalogous Catalogorum* work. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer wanted me to come to Trivandrum and be the Curator of the Oriental Mss. Library and the Principal of Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum. Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer said that I should not be permitted to move out and got myself retained here in the interest of the continuance of the *New Catalogous Catalogorum* work. It is he who asked me to serve in the Music Academy and take over its Journal which had become moribund with the fourth volume and look after its publications. It is because of him that I began to play an increasing part in the activities of this Academy. The Music Academy gave me the opportunity to channel into fruitful lines the capacity, interest and knowledge that I had acquired in this field and contribute to its development as the premier institution of music in the whole of India. The Vice-Chancellor himself, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, as he recollected in his speech, has always been interested in my several works. It was he who moved for the taking up of the *New Catalogous Catalogorum* under the auspices of Madras University and, as Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer mentioned, but for his approval and support my book *The Indian Heritage* could not have been sponsored by the Unesco. There were several other occasions on which he has been of help particularly in my tours abroad (in 1953-54) for the search and cataloguing of mss. in the collections there. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, who has been connected with almost all the Sanskrit institutions as well as religious and other organisations in which I have been playing an active role, has always been like an elder brother to me. Of course the age-difference is rather high for me to call myself his younger brother, but that describes correctly our relationship in the extended family of these organisations in which we have been together for a very long time. I must also acknowledge the good-will and co-operation of all the colleagues who have been working with me in all these bodies particularly in the Music Academy but for whose help and

co-operation I would not have been able to achieve the things that have been mentioned. Reference should also be made on this occasion to my students, Assistants, Juniors and other colleagues who have assisted me in all the literary work which I have been able to do and of all of which an annotated Bibliography has been released on this occasion by the Vice-Chancellor.

In the larger sphere of activity, I must mention the Chairman of this evening. Though he stated that we came together through the Music Academy, really we came together much earlier in the Sanskrit College and through Sri T. T. Krishnamachari; he was staying in Madras with Sri C. R. Pattabiraman and came to the Sanskrit College. Without any effort and without anyone knowing it, when he rose to give a reply to the Pandits of the College, he reeled off some Sanskrit verses. Before that Sri T. T. K. had told me that I should know Dr. Deshmukh and that he was a gifted composer in Sanskrit. I had derived much help from Dr. Deshmukh in the Sahitya Akademi particularly in my plans to publish the Sanskrit literary Journal, *Samskrita Pratibhā*, under its auspices. In all that I have been able to do for the South Indian Institutions through the Central Departments or Boards or autonomous bodies like the Sangeet Natak Akademi, I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the great strength which I derived from Sri T. T. Krishnamachari, particularly when he was in office at the Centre. Whatever help I have been able to recruit for the development of academic or artistic activities in this music institution or in the bodies in the field of Sanskrit, like the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, the Madras Sanskrit College and the Sanskrit Education Society, would not have been possible but for the support of these three Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari and Dr. C. D. Deshmukh.

I must make a special reference to a force which took me over, so to say, at a point in the upward swing of my intellectual and creative activity and has since been the imperceptible but sure main-switch of my momentum, His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Swamigal. His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, who has sent me his presents today, told me recently "you are indeed fortunate in having His Holiness to bless and guide you." I have had the privilege and pleasure of knowing well some of our enlightened distinguished

Maharajahs and of them His Highness of Mysore, Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar, has helped me especially in a manner which I can never forget. Those of you who have seen my *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* know how I have dedicated that first big work of mine to him.

I should not take more of your time as the meeting has already drawn too long, but I might be permitted to say few things about my official work so far as the University and the field of Sanskrit are concerned. It has been mentioned by several speakers that I have worked in the whole field of Indian Culture. I have not had a conception of Sanskrit in any narrow sense, nor is it possible to have such a conception of the subject of Sanskrit. As Dr. D. H. H. Ingalls, Professor of Sanskrit at the Harverd University, has said in his introduction to the Bibliography which has just been released, Sanskrit has a peculiar advantage. or disadvantage as you may view it, compared with other subjects and disciplines in any University. If a friend of yours is a Professor of English, you ask him only about English language and literature and some more academic questions about old Anglo-Saxon. But if one is a Sanskrit scholar you ask him questions about Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy, ancient Indian Chemistry, Botany and Mathematics, in fact of anything and everything. I have been continuously receiving from every imaginable body which the Government have set up in the field of technological and scientific development: 'Will you kindly suggest two Sanskrit mottos for the Heavy Electricals at Bhopal?' Only last month I supplied two mottos for the Indian Standards Institution who wanted some Sanskrit mottos for 'reliance on our own resources and discoveries'. Prof. K. Venkataraman, Director of Chemical Institute, Poona writes: 'Please give me all the references to colours in Sanskrit literature.' One would not know how to get the material on colours in ancient Sanskrit literature unless one has a far-flung knowledge of the whole sphere of Sanskrit writings. On this particular subject of colours the first book you should know is Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. You may wonder what Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, which our actor-friend Sri T. K. Shanmugam just now described in his speech as a valuable work, has to do with colours. Well, we have an excellent treatise on colours here in the chapter on Make-up of the actors, and, as it is the habit of ancient Indian writers and thinkers to go about a thing thoroughly, Bharata goes about it in

that way: To understand make-up you should know the complexion of people and their diversity; you must know colours and how to mix them and there are the primary colours and the secondary colours and those that combine and those that do not. So I supplied a detailed note on this to Dr. K. Venkataraman. Thus if one is a Sanskritist, he is asked not only about Upaniṣads and Vedānta or about Kālidāsa and Śākuntala, but also of any imaginable thing relating to ancient India. Sanskrit is a language which embodies achievements in all these branches of knowledge. When you want a technical term, you have to go to an original Sanskrit text on the concerned branch of knowledge. There was an American team to listen to expositions of different aspects of Indian Culture and I was asked to speak first to them. That was but appropriate because a knowledge of Sanskrit is pre-requisite for the study of any aspect of Indian Culture. A Sanskritist among Indologists holds a strong position like a Mathematician among scientists. An Indologist without a grounding in Sanskrit is lame. If you are to be a historian even of South India, as Prof. K. K. Pillai just now said, you must be able to read the inscriptions of the Pallavas and Cholas and their inscriptions are mostly in Sanskrit with a tail-end record in Tamil. Without a knowledge of Sanskrit, one cannot do significant work in any field of Indian culture. Sanskrit after all has been the vehicle of the thought which this country has been preserving and which imparts to India an individuality of its own. What is India worth if we lose all our culture? What is modern Greece? What has it to do with ancient Greece? It is not like that for India. India is India and still, as Justice K. S. Venkataraman said, we are repeating the Gāyatrī which Viśvāmitra created or uttered forth some four or five thousand years ago and we still worship and cherish all that spiritual heritage of the Veda, Upaniṣad, Itihāsa-Purāna and Śāstra. All these materials are in Sanskrit which is part and parcel of our living culture. So that when we want to discuss problems of Sanskrit education or its revival, it is no good saying 'I am a lover of Sanskrit' and having a marginal interest in it. If as the Tamil proverb goes on 'Avilai ninaittukkoṇḍu uralai iḍittānām,' one thinks of something and does something else, one will be doing more harm than good. One can spite some people—active in the field, but one cannot replace them. A destructive attitude has never been of great benefit in any field of human activity. On this occasion I remember a Sanskrit *Subhāṣita*.

Subhāṣita is a precious part of Sanskrit literature. From very early years I preserved my own diaries of *Subhāṣitas* all of which I got by heart. This I learnt from my maternal uncle N. Mahadeva Iyer and from Tiruvisanallur Raghava Sastri who was related to us. 'Mosquitos and flies love to come and sit on your wound and sore; bees love to sit, hum and taste the honey of flowers.'

Makṣikā vraṇamicchanti doṣam icchanti durjanāḥ /
Bhramarāḥ puṣpam icchanti guṇam icchanti sajjanāḥ //

Therefore the wise man should take the qualities and merits of a person and not go on witchhunting imaginery faults in others. Faults may not be always there. Oftentimes, as you may see in experience, the fault which you see in others is merely a wrong focus of your own attitude to persons and situations and the so-called faults may not at all be there in the other person. Sometimes when you are affected, you see two moons in the sky but the moon is only one there. Similarly certain people who get into authoritative bodies and begin to raise their voice, without raising any point, are liable to this kind of error in life which leads to all sorts of difficulties. Great work may be harmed by these people of marginal interest and misguided notions. I say this on this occasion because now attacking people is rampant and character-assasination has become one of the side-activities of the people, particularly in respect of those who become prominent in life. Well, Mr. Chairman, I want to mention on this occasion the life and letters of Prof. Max Muller brought out by his wife and son which run into a few volumes; several matters which were not well-known are to be found there. If there is a Sanskritist of a foreign country who is best known in India, not only among the academic scholars but also among the common people, it is Max Muller. Who can deny this? We referred to him with the Sanskrit name 'Mokṣamūla' and have been cherishing him to this day. But do you know what his life was like? It was full of trials, stress and strain. Contemporary professors of Sanskrit, all of them wellknown, for example Whitney, Monier-Williams, Bohtling — these persons, lacking in grace, and worse than that, lacking in understanding, went on attacking Max Muller like anything for 15 years as recorded in the letters of Max Muller published by his wife and son. Whitney carried on a campaign against Max Muller in the American Press. Well, you

can imagine the position of a scholar who is subjected to this kind of vicious propaganda. Why did Max Muller have to suffer this? Because Max Muller was prolific in his activities. But for him the Sacred Books of the East, and the translations of oriental classics in that series, or the edition of Ṛgveda which he prepared standing all the time, as it is accorded, could not have come out. At that time there was nobody in England who could copy the Devanagari. They placed tracing paper on the mss. and mechanically traced the outline of the letters without being able to know 'a' is 'a'. The Maharajah of Vijayanagaram patronised this first edition of the Ṛgveda and it came out. But for Max Muller there would not have been that leap forward in Sanskrit research that we had. But yet he was submitted to this kind of slandering because he was prolific and influential. First his works were prodigious; secondly he was a great friend of Royalty, Ministers and others. and this the Professors mentioned above did not like. There is a notion that a Professor should be sqeamish, impecunious, and craven in his attitude. But Max Muller lived an opulent life, gave big receptions at Oxford and the Royalty all over Europe and Ministers respected him. Other scholars did not like this because Max Muller was not only a scholar but a great fellow living like a Prince, moving shoulder to shoulder with Princes and Ministers. Naturally such a man excites jealously and attracts attack. That is the position of all people who try to be a little above others. Those people who keep to a lower level are safe; certain people who try to do more are always submitted to this stress and allergy on the part of others, colleagues as well as those who elect themselves to patronising positions. Colleagues who work to schedule or a minimum programme are always uneasy about those whose energies and interests overflow such limitations. Public Bodies belong to those who come on them for the time being but it is not always that the permanent norms and standards of these Bodies are maintained by those who come and go and, without the requisite background, make their own ad hoc approach and make up their lack of understanding by mere vehemence or loudness.

But all this, I think, proves a training. Life of course is the great school for training. Co-operative work on a body is much more of a training and discipline. As it has been said, the life of a Brahman is not for enjoyment but for *Tapas,* for penance and

work. It is in this spirit that one has to take all these stresses and strains. Criticism will always be there. I always remember Max Muller. And who has not been criticised in this country since independence and the greatest man has been submitted to wildest criticism. There is a verse of the *Mahā Bhārata*, preserved in a precious monologue (Bhāṇa)[1] which says:

Yasyāmitrā na bahavaḥ yasmān nodvijate janaḥ /
Yam sametya na nindanti sa Pārtha puruṣādhamaḥ //

"He who does not have many enemies, he who does not engender some fear in the people around so that they may respect him, he whom some people joining together do not go on abusing, that is indeed a worthless man, Oh Yudhisthira!" said Bhīṣma.

Well a question might be asked on this occasion by friends and others: 'You have reached your 61st birthday. What are your plans?' Well, what shall I say about my plans? Plans are in plenty. If any institution wants me I will work. If as the Chairman was kind enough to point out, we have some Central Institution in South India, it will be really good for the preservation of Sanskrit in this part of the country. South India has played a most glorious role in the preservation of Sanskrit. When North India and Deccan too were submitted to all sorts of difficulties, Pandits flew in their thousands with all their cart-loads of mss. and took shelter in this haven of culture in South India enjoying the patronage of the Pallavas, the Cholas, Paṇḍyas and Ceras and later the Vijayanagara Rayas and Nayaks and lastly the Marathas of Tanjore. It is because of this that there is a concentration of mss. in the South, a concentration of learning in Mīmāṁsä and other disciplines. Now all this should not be given up. If we are unable to preserve them, then South India will become a desert so far as Sanskrit is concerned. Although we have a number of Institutions in Madras and the South, it cannot be said that we have received enough support to co-ordinate their activities and have a real advanced centre where we could achieve much more and keep all this learning and culture alive and continuing. It is not necessary, Sir, Mr. Chairman, that, according to the constitution of the University Grants Commission and the rules and regu-

1. *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka.

lations which you have framed for the setting up of Advance Centres that they can be only under the aegis of a University. There are several institutions which can be deemed as University for purposes of Examination and conferment of Degrees and the receiving of grants from the UGC. It is possible that if all those lovers of Sanskrit in this Hall like Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer and Sri T. Sadasivam put their heads together, we may yet be able to get an Advance Centre of Sanskrit Study in the University if possible, or outside the University. We *must* have a Centre like that. That would be our last great effort to preserve this vanishing aroma from the South Indian scene. I hope my appeal on this occasion is quite appropriate because you have honoured me as a Sanskritist. The banian of Sanskrit includes all the arts, music etc. Sanskrit is mother, real or foster, of all languages and arts. If Sanskrit is lost who will understand the Bhāva not only of the Kritis of Dikshitar but also of the compositions of Tyagaraja and Syama Sastri. The entire cult of devotion, Nadopāsanā, Bhajana, everything stems from Sanskrit. Therefore let us put our energies and heads together and try to achieve such a Centre in Madras.

But what will I do if such a Centre is not possible or takes a lot of time to come? Well, I will carry on my work according to the Sanskrit proverb or the Tamil proverb 'Rāman irukkum iḍam Ayoddhi' 'Wherever Rama is, it is Ayodhya'. Wherever I am, I will carry on my work and I will be my Centre. There is no doubt about this. Scholars, young and old from all over India and abroad will come and read with me, consult and discuss with me, and work in my home. Students from all over India, to whatever University they belong, always write to me and apply for ideas, references and plans for their Doctoral theses and they will continue to do so. There will be no lack of work. Let none, high or low, think he has demobilised a literary and cultural activist like me; let them remember Bhartṛhari's verse:

Ambhojinī-vana-vihāra-vilāsam eva
Haṁsasya hanti nitarām kupito vidhātā /
Natvasya dugdha-jala-bheda-vidhau prasiddhām
Vaidagdhya-rītim apahartum asau samarthaḥ //

Dr. Raghavan then said, in conclusion, some words about the music concert that evening by Smt. M. S. Subbulakshmi and his

close association with Sri T. Sadasivam and other friends in common causes and activities in the fields of art and culture.

Sri T. V. Viswanatha Aiyar then spoke thanking all those who had contributed to the success of the 61st Birthday celebrations of Dr. V. Raghavan and paid a tribute to the Chairman Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. Expressing his own felicitation to Dr. Raghavan who had been of great assistance to them in the work of the Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, he invoked the blessings of the Lord for his long life and continued service in the cause of Sanskrit and the Institutions in Madras with which he had been actively associated.

At the conclusion of the function Kum. R. Vedavalli sang a benedictory verse in Sanskrit:

Jīyāt Samskṛta-bhāratī vijayatāt tasyām janānām ruciḥ
Jīyād Rāghava-deśikaḥ śatasamāḥ tasyāḥ pracāre rataḥ /
Ā nāṭyāgamamā śrutiśiraḥ sarvaṁkaṣām śemuṣīm
Bibhrāṇah Kavi-kokilo navanavonmeṣaiḥ svamedhāguṇaiḥ //

PART B

PAPERS

APPROACH TO THE VEDIC WORLD

BY

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I

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, National Professor of India in Humanities, who has made extensive studies in Indo-European languages and literatures, says in his recently published book, *Balts and Aryans* (1968): "The Aryan culture .... closely connected with the mental and material cultural world of all the other ancient Indo-European peoples, is best represented in India by the world of the Vedas, which forms a sort of background for Indian or Hindu culture as a whole." (p. 6).

This points to the need of a new line of studies for Vedic scholars which will result in (1) the discovery of the identity of the Indo-European (Aryan) religion as professed and practised in Europe till its extinction in the fourteenth century; (2) the discovery of the identity of the religion and culture as found in the four Vedas and acquaintance with the Vedic world in which the religion was professed and practised; and (3) a comparative estimate of the Aryan religion and culture of Europe and those of India.

After this has been done the next step for the scholar will be to investigate the nature and extent of the contribution made by the world of the Vedas to Hinduism in its development and expansion through the long ages. The scholar will also be interested to know why the Aryan religion in Europe ceased to have a single regular follower after the efforts made in the fourteenth century by the last kings of Lithuania to preserve it had failed, and why the same basic cult happens to have survived in the Indian sub-continent and elsewhere to this day, and to be followed by hundreds of millions of people, many more hundreds of millions in the non-conformist Buddhist form, based on the eight-fold Aryan Path, and other non-conformist forms.

For an academic approach to the subject one has, of course, to guard against all kinds of bias, and refuse to accept as real what is only possible or even plausible. For instance, the belief among Lithuanians that their ancestors were Indians should receive the support of convincing evidence. But even without accepting the belief, one may consider the ideological affinities between the Aryan religion which was practised by Lithuanians and the same practised by Vedic Indians. For example, from the letter which the last great Lithuanian king wrote in 1323 to the Pope, refusing to accept the latter's religion which had been forced on the neighbouring Prusssians, one can legitimately infer a religious attitude not found outside the Aryan group. King Gediminas says in that letter (written in Latin): "I have stated verily that I will permit the Christians to worship God according to the manner of their faith, the Ruthines according to theirs, while we ourselves will worship God according to our customs. We all worship one God."[1] This reminds us of statements in the Vedas like "the One (Ultimate) Reality sages speak of in many ways" (RV. 1.164.86 & AV). "The Deity who is one, the wise poets figure in their songs in many ways" (RV. 10.114.5), etc., and of the description of the earth as a place "where men have various religious rites according to their places of abode." (AV. 12.1.45). It was such an attitude that, for example, made the Hindu king in Kerala give shelter to the Jewish refugees from the Roman empire at the beginning of the Christian era.

Side by side with these affinities between European and Indian Aryanism, the scholar will also discover differences, some of which are of an essential nature. A knowledge of the differences will dissuade him from attempting, like certain interpreters of the Vedas in the West, to study the world of the Vedas in India by taking the history of European Aryans for their guidance. For instance, it was usual in ancient India to reward poets and priests with gifts in the form of bulls and cows, horses and mares, besides gold coins. There are hymns in which the Ṛṣis proudly announce the liberal gifts they received of 'twenty bulls with cows', 'six horses with mares', 'fifty mares', etc., using in each case the graceful word 'vadhū' for the female animal, in its

1. Balts and Aryans, p. 44.

secondary sense, the primary sense being 'wife'. Though this meaning has been recognised by lexicographers like Roth, there are scholars, both Western and Indian, who give the word a literal meaning, saying that the 'wives' given away were human wives, the wives of defeated enemies — enslaved women (who, we are expected to believe, were found to be fit rewards for priests and poets). But nowhere in the Vedas, or in other authentic texts in India is there any reference to the enslavement by Vedic Indians, or by their descendants, of the defeated enemy, or of his womenfolk, or to the running of a slave market, or the employment of slaves, not to speak of their being given as *dakṣiṇā* or holy gift to the Ṛṣis or priests. These are found in Homer and other ancient classical writers, and in Greek and Roman history, and the fact is accepted as evidence of similar social behaviour in the case of Vedic Indians on account of their common Indo-European origin. This should remind us of the need of discovering the differences between the European Aryan and the Indian Aryan as well as the affinities, in their thought and conduct.

Sometimes it is simple anachronism that leads to a certain interpretation of the Vedas by scholars, whether Western or Indian. For example, certain Vedic words, instead of being given the Vedic sense, are made to have the degraded sense in which they were used in later ages. Take, for instance, the word 'jāra' which in the Veda means 'a lover', and in later ages, 'a paramour'. How can 'jāra' mean 'a paramour' in the Veda when a Ṛṣi says in a hymn of praise to the Deva he worships "Be you sung like a jāra (lover) to the 'priyā' (the beloved one)" (RV. 9.96.23)? Or when the poet tells himself: "Rouse up, O poet, the Deity who is our lover (*jāra*) (RV. 10.42.2)? If 'jāra' meant 'paramour', then, instead of saying that the Deity was "the 'jāra' of maidens and 'pati' (husband) of wives," (RV. 1.66.8) the poet should have said, 'the jāra of wives', for only a wife can have a paramour, the maiden can have only a lover.

An anachronism, very commonly met with in the attitude to the Vedas both among Indians and Westerners, lies in taking the Devas of post-Vedic times, bearing Vedic names, to be no other than Vedic Devas themselves. One important difference between the Vedic and post-Vedic Devas is that while the former "are always pure" (SV. 442), and their "motives are guided by Ṛta

(Dharma) and their law is based on Truth" (RV. 5.51.2), the latter, being characters in legends, are often brought to the human level of imperfection. Similarly, the Ṛṣis of mythology, though bearing Vedic names, are not always like the Vedic sages who are said to be 'endowed with insight' and to 'move on while their truthful spirit shines brightly' (RV. 7.90.5). Purāṇik Ṛṣis are sometimes found to have the frailties of the unregenerate man. And it is not unusual to find, in certain modern publications, figures of mythological Devas and Devīs reproduced to illustrate the Devas and Devīs of Vedic poetry.

The scholar has to find out not only the correct meaning of words and phrases but also their associative and symbolic significance (e.g. in the Vedas '*guhā-nihitam*' refers to the Supreme Reality 'hidden in mystery', though literally it means 'hidden in the cave'), in order to grasp the real implication of Vedic poetry which, as a Vedic poet says, expresses an experience lying beyond the human nature (*Puruṣatva*) of the Ṛṣis" (RV. 5.48.5).

II

When one brings a fairly objective attitude to the study of the Vedas, one finds certain fundamental ideas about religion clearly expressed in them. These form the basis of the religion as professed and practised by the Vedic people, and dominate the Vedic world which formed a background for Hindu culture and religion in later ages. These ideas include the following:

1. The Ultimate Reality as the Unmanifest (*aja*, literally, 'unborn') is Pure Being, formless, attributeless, sexless and indescribable except through negative terms like 'the Infinite', 'the Eternal' etc. The Vedic sages use certain cryptic terms for the Pure Being which have been passed on to later times. Among these terms are 'That' (*tat*), 'That Being' (*tat sat*), 'Brahman' (the Absolute) — all in the neuter gender (to indicate sexlessness) and the singular number — and the indeclinable OM (the sound of which is made to symbolise the Absolute), besides the negative 'Eternal' (*akṣaram*). Other terms, limited to the Vedas, include "ekam" (the one). Examples:

> There was neither existence nor non-existence then....
> The ONE breathed airless by self-impulse,

Other than THAT was nothing whatsoever (RV. 10.129.2).
THAT was supreme in the universe (RV. 10.127.1, AV).
Vena (the loving one) sees THAT BEING which is hidden in mystery,
in which all comes to have one single home (YV. Vs. 32.8).
OM, the supreme Brahman (YV. Vs. 40.17).

2. The Pure Being (the unmanifest Absolute) becomes manifest (*jāta*, literally, 'born') on the relative plane of reality in the glory of the phenomenal world. In the vision of the Ṛṣis (sage-poets) the manifest Absolute appears as Deva, the Being of Splendour. The poets contemplate the Deva in terms of form, attribute and descriptive name, and, they contemplate the manifest Absolute also as Devī (goddess). As the glory is manifold, there are numerous visions of it and the Devas and Devīs are many.

Obviously, the One unmanifest Pure Being alone has absolute reality; the many Devaṣ and Devīs with forms and attributes, have only relative reality, being related to the visions of splendour in the phenomenal world. But the Vedas stress the fact that the Devas and Devīs, reflecting the glory of the Pure Being, represent the Absolute in relative terms. So the Many have only apparent plurality; they have their unity in the unmanifest One. The Veda says:

"When the earliest mornings dawned, the Great Eternal (*mahad akṣaram*) was manifested (literally, 'born') on the path of light. Hence the statutes of the Devas shall be revered. Great (*mahat*) is the single Godhood of the Devas." (RV. 3.55.1).

3. As the manifested forms of the Absolute reflect the unmanifest Absolute, they are considered by the Veda to be the means through which the inexpressible unmanifest Absolute can be spoken of. This idea receives clear and emphatic expression in the Vedas, as in the following:

"They speak of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni... the One Reality the sage-poets (*viprāḥ*) speak of in many ways..." (RV. 1.164.46; AV). So a Deva or Devī may be individually identified with the One Pure Being:

"Agni is That (*tat*), Āditya is That, Vāyu is That ... Prajāpati is That" (YV. Vs. 32.1).

Being identified with the Absolute, a Deva or Devī can be taken as the Absolute, and other Devas and Devīs may be singly or collectively identified with him or her, or in the specific Vedic way described as 'All-Devas-in-One' (*viśvadeva*), as in the following:

"Agni, you are Indra ... are Viṣṇu ... are Brahmaṇaspati ... are Varuṇa ... Mitra ... are Aditi ... Bhāratī ... Ilā ... Sarasvatī" (RV. 2.1).

"This is, Devas (addressed as 'Poets'), your great and lovely title, that all of you exist in Indra". (RV. 3.54.17).

"Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the mid-air; Aditi is Mother, is Father, is Son; Aditi is all the Devas, Aditi is the five peoples; Aditi is all that is born and all that will be born" (RV. 1.89.10; YV. Vs. AV.).

"With our hymns today we choose Savitṛ, All-Devas-in-One (*viśvadevam;* RV. 5.82.7).

"Indra ... Maker of all things, you are mighty, you are All-Devas-in-One" (RV. 8.98.2).

From this the conclusion follows that any Deva may be contemplated as the Supreme Being, manifested in his power and glory. For example, Indra is described as "The One, manifested as the Lord of the races of men" (RV. 6.45.8), Agni as "the sole Emperor" (SV. 1710, AV), Varuṇa as 'the Emperor sublime (RV. 6.68.9), Viṣṇu as 'One who upholds the earth and sky and the worlds of living creatures' (RV. 1.154 4), Pūṣan as 'the supreme Ruler' (RV. 1.89.5), Aditi as 'the Queen of Eternal Order (YV. Vs. 21.4).

Similarly any Deva or Devī may be described in superlative terms. For example, Agni is called 'the best of poet-sages (*kavitama*, RV. 3.14.1), so is Varuṇa called (RV. 5.85.6), so is Savitṛ (RV. 5.42.3). Similarly, both Indra and Agni are called 'the most heroic' (*nṛtama*, RV. 3.32.17; 2.29.).

Again, as the sages name the One in many ways, calling That Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., so also they describe a Deva by many terms, as King (*rājā*), as Emperor (*samrāṭ*), as Sage (*vipra*), as Poet (*kavi*), as Physician (*bhiṣak*), etc.

Similarly, affectionate relations between the Deity and the worshipper are expressed in various ways. The Deity has been called Father, Mother, Father-and-Mother-in-One, Brother, Son, Friend, Guest (who is lovingly and selflessly entertained), etc., and also said to be 'like the lover to the beloved', 'like the bride-groom to the bride', 'like the husband to the wife'. The eager call of the worshipper to the Deity has been compared to the lowing of the mother-cow for the calf. A very graceful touch has been given to Devī Uṣas, described as a bright Virgin, by the sage-poet who says: "May we be yours as sons are of the mother" (RV. 7. 81.4), initiating the worship of a Virgin Goddess with filial devotion. Sometimes Ṛṣi describes a Deva or Devī by using several of the affectionate terms together.

4. When the Many can be identified with the One, we find it easy to understand how the sage-poets can address more than one Deva at a time without negating the unitary idea. It appears that the Ṛṣis wish to contemplate different aspects of the manifest Divine, and address different Devas and Devīs at the same time, knowing that they are doing so without giving up the concept of the single Godhood of the Devas. Sometimes through poetic analogy they produce beautiful pictures of life out of the dual or multiple vision of the manifest Divine.

5. But though the Devas are identified with the One Absolute and one of them is identified with another or with all the rest, and they are worshipped at the same altar and with the same attitude of devotion, still in the hands of poets and to worshippers each of them comes to possess a more or less distinct personality. In order to make sure that this individuality does not lead to a pluralistic concept of Godhood, the Veda emphasises the fundamental unity among them, of which each Deva is said to have an inner knowledge. This knowledge, the Veda says, unites the Devas into a harmonious group, free from difference and hostility. The Vedic word 'Samjñāna' implies the loving unity based on knowledge.

The word *jñāna* (knowledge) in the Samjñāna is not the mere knowledge of facts or information, but the deepest inner awareness. It is through this awareness that individuals find abiding harmony and concord in their relationship. Sometimes instead of

Samjñāna, some other word with the prefix *sam-* is used to imply this idea of mutual harmony and concord. In later Sanskrit this prefix generally implies perfection (as in 'samrakṣaṇa', perfect protection), but the specific Vedic idea of *sam-* is found in Greek *sun-* which becomes *sum-* before certain sounds (in English they are *syn-* and *sym-*, as in 'synthesis', meaning not simply 'putting together'; but 'building up into a connected whole'; and in 'symphony', meaning, not merely 'sounds brought together', but 'sounds combined into a harmony'). The corresponding Latin prefix is *con-*, as in 'concord', 'union of hearts.' Vedic *sam-* has its variants in *saha-* and *sa-*.

6. We have considered so far the unmanifest Divine as the Absolute and the manifest Divine as the Relative Reality with the Absolute in the background. It has been a question of reality on different planes. The Veda introduces another element in its concept of the manifest Divine as Deva or Devī which refers to values. In giving attributes to the attributeless Absolute, the Veda depends upon the values formulated by it. It says that at the beginning of creation "Ṛta and Satya were born of blazing Tapas" (RV. 10. 190.1). These three words sum up the fundamental Vedic values. Ṛta, Eternal Order, as Law of Nature imposes symmetry and harmony on chaos and turns it into cosmos, producing aesthetic form or beauty. As social Law Ṛta makes justice (Dharma) replace anarchy and disorder, producing ethical form or goodness. Satya, Truth, in the metaphysical sense is reality (*sat*), relative and absolute, and in the ethical sense, integrity or honesty in thought and action. Tapas in the Vedic sense is not only discipline, involving austerity, but also the kindling of the spiritual fire which purifies the body and mind and generates the strength that overcomes material limitations.

The Veda says of the Devas that "their motives are guided by Ṛta and their laws are based on Satya" (RV. 5.61.2), that "they are Furtherers of Ṛta, pure in spirit, infallible, and they dwell in the home of Ṛta" (RV. 6.51.9). It is said that "Deva Varuṇa is beautiful in his form of Ṛta", and "like his laws the world of man has been made beautiful" (RV. 5.66.1-2); that "Mitra and Varuṇa conquer all lawlessness, and stick fast to Ṛta" (RV. 1.152.1). "For the people who rest on Ṛta", Indra is said to have "assailed the lawless aggressor" (*dasyu*, RV. 10.73.6). "There lies immortality

in the Devas and there lies truth in them" states a Ṛṣi (AV. 10.3. 25). The Vedic mode of spiritual culture has been called Tapas. A Ṛṣi says that "by the Tapas of brahmacarya the Devas drove away death" (AV. 11.5.19).

7. Brahmacarya is the Vedic system of education which aims at helping the pupil to have a new birth, as a mental child of the Acārya (teacher). It makes men and women Deva-like, qualifying them for different vocations of life. (AV. 11.5). The Veda says of such a person: "The Brahmacārin goes, performing his duties, and becomes a limb of the Devas' own body (RV. 10.109.5).

According to the Veda, man like the Deva is a manifestation of the Divine; so a Ṛṣi says, addressing the Devas: "We have established our brotherhood (*bhrātṛtva*), for ever and with harmony, in the mother's womb" (RV. 8.83.8). But there is an important difference. Unlike the Devas man is mortal, and he imperfectly follows Ṛta and Satya, often pursuing Anṛta and Asatya (moral disorder and untruth). He seeks immortality (and, as an earthly substitute for it, a long good life) and moral and spiritual perfection by following the example of the Devas who are ever stainless. "I have risen with life, risen with good life (*su āyus*), following the Immortals" (Devas, says a Ṛṣi. YV. Vs. 4.28). Thus, the Vedic values are pursued not only in the abstract, but also in the concrete by following the example of the Devas who represent them.

Sometimes a Deva is identified with Ṛta (e.g. in RV. 4.40.5) and with Satya (e.g. in 8.62.12). An Upanishad states the Vedic position when it says: "That they have called Ṛta, That Satya, That the Supreme Brahman of the sages" (1.6). Thus the Vedic values, too, manifest the Ultimate Reality. As such, they may be pursued by themselves, even without reference to the Deity. This allows a place to humanism (which generally sends a challenge to religion with its supernatural affiliation) and makes the Vedic outlook more comprehensive than that of mere theology. Hence the pursuit of Ṛta and Satya and the practice of Tapas (in the positive sense in which the Veda takes the word) form the basis of religion in the Vedic sense.

As brahmacarya is a means of attaining Devahood (i.e. perfection), so also is Gārhapatya, the householder's life that comes

after brahmacarya for a married couple, another means of doing so. The marriage ritual in the Ṛgveda (10.85) begins with the exaltation of Ṛta and Satya ('By Satya the earth is sustained, by Ṛta the Ādityas—or Devas—stand'). In the Atharva Veda the married couple receives the blessing: "Enjoy you two together (*sam-bharatam*) great prosperity, bearing yourselves according to Ṛta, speaking Ṛta" (12.1.31). The couple is compared to the Divine Couple, Dyāvāpṛthivī (Heaven and Earth), and the husband tells the wife: "I am Sāman (the sacred song), you are Ṛk (the sacred verse)" (AV. 14.2,71), introducing high sanctity into their relationship. Man attains complete Devahood by winning immortality. According to the Veda, Gṛhasthāśrama, observed in terms of Vedic principles, leads to it. So the wife is told: "Hoping for love, children, fortune, wealth, and being always behind your husband in his life's vocation (*vrata*), strive to achieve immortality (*amṛta*)" (AV. 14.1.42). Man and wife have to make a home that will be a sort of heaven on earth: "May you two, waking up in your pleasant home, both filled with laughter and cheer, and enjoying greatly (*mahasā*), having good children, a good house, good food (including milk from cows), pass the shining mornings" (AV. 14.2.43). The Veda wants men to follow the Devas by establishing Samjñāna. It prescribes Samjñāna for the family, asking the members to "love each other as the mother-cow loves the calf she has borne" (AV. 3.30.1), and to have 'the loving heart in them morn and eve" (AV. 3.30.7). Samjñāna is desired to be established between spiritual and secular leaders (*brahma* and *kṣatra*, YV. Vs. 20.25),between oneself and one's fellow-citizens or countrymen (RV. 10.191) and between one's own people and foreign pepole (*samjñānam naḥ svebhiḥ, samjñānam araṇebhiḥ* — AV. 7. 52). From a position of strength, the Vedic sage wants to look on (*sam- īkṣ*) all beings with a friendly eye, receiving reciprocation of the attitude (YV. Vs. 36.18).

8. Besides the vision of Devas in the glory of the universe and the sense of values carried with it, the Veda also speaks of the awareness of the Indwelling Spirit in the universe and in man. Terms used for the Spirit include *Jyotiḥ* (Light), *Kratuḥ* (Intelligence), Yakṣam (Spirit) and *Ātmā* (Soul), as in the following:

"A steady Light (*Jyotiḥ*) is hidden (*nihitam*) among moving things. All the Devas, being united in spirit and knowledge, pro-

ceed unerringly to that One Intelligence (*ekam kratum*, corresponding to *cit* of later literature". RV. 6.9.5).

"The peerless Spirit that lies in all creatures (*apūrvam yakṣam antaḥ prajānām*, YV. Vs. 34.1.2)".

"May we not fight against the Divine spirit within us (*daivyam manaḥ*, AV. 7.52.2)".

"Sūrya is the Ātmā in all that moves and that is still". (RV. 1.115.1, YV., AV.).

"The nine-portalled body of man is a lotus enclosed within triple bands in which abides the spirit (*yakṣam*) with the Ātmā, which men of Divine knowledge know. Desireless, steady, immortal, Self-existent, satisfied with the essence, lacking nothing is the Ātmā. One does not fear death who has known That — the Ātmā, steady, ageless, youthful" (AV. 10.8.43-44).

Here Yakṣam and Ātmā are used in the sense of Jīvātmā and Paramātmā of later literature. The two Birds of which the Ṛgveda speaks (sitting on the same tree, one eating the sweet fruit, and the other, not eating but looking on) (RV. 1.164.20, AV.) also refers respectively, to the Jīvātmā and the Paramātmā (according to the Vedic tradition). The body as the abode of the Divine acquires a sanctity which is symbolised by its being compared to the lotus flower. To the Vedic sage flesh is not a hindrance to spirit; it can be made to respond to spiritual impulses by superseding the impact of biological instincts. So the Ṛṣi prays for the health and efficiency of the body. A prayer ends with: "May all my limbs remain unimpaired and my soul unconquered (*mamātmā anibhṛṣṭaḥ*, AV. 19.60).

9. It is no wonder that the Vedic Ṛṣis who recognise both the formless Absolute and the Deva with form and attribute, and accept both spirit and flesh, should desire a visual and material counterpart to the communion with the Divine. This comes in the form of ritual. As, for the glory of the Deva (*bhargo devasya*, RV. 3.62.10) they found glorious language (*bhargasvatīm vācam*, AV. 6.69.2), so with Yajña (ritualistic worship) they followed the steps of that Speech (*vāk*, RV. 10.71.3). Besides its daily performance at home, the Yajña was periodically and on special occasions performed in the open. There were temporary

constructions and decorations, and Vedic mantras were chanted, and offerings were put into the sacred fire, lighted for the purpose. Large numbers of people attended the performance. Instrumental music from the *gargarā* (violin) and the *godhā* (lute) besides the *vīṇā* and other instruments added to the appeal of the chanting and singing of Vedic texts. In the Vedic world where these texts were well understood, Vedic poetry too carried its own appeal. The Yajña gave the Vedic cult the character of a mass religion

10. Vedic Ṛsis, on their own initiative, went out on preaching campaigns. A Ṛṣi prays that he may be 'filled with the sweetness of honey' to be enabled to "speak the glorious word of the Veda to the masses of people" (*jana*, AV. 6.69.2). Another sage prays for cordial relations (Samjñāna) with a good man as a companion, "so that he could speak" the blissful words to the masses of the people, to the man of sacred knowledge (*brāhmaṇa*), to the ruling man (*rājanya, kṣatriya*), to the working man (*śūdra*) and to the farmer and trader (*vaiśya*); to his own people, and to the foreigner" (YV. Vs. 26.1-2). Then he prays: "May I be dear to the Devas (*priyo devānām*, an expression by which in a later age the Emperor-preacher Asoka describes himself in his edicts, using the Pāli form of it) and to the donor of the holy gift (*dakṣiṇā* on which the preacher supported himself). The wealth he prays for is of a different type, as we find from the continuation of his prayer in the words of a Rgvedic stanza: "Give us that wonderful wealth (*draviṇa*) with which the good man excels, that consisting of brilliance and wisdom, shines among the people, and is effulgent with power" (YV. 26.3 = RV. 2.23.15).

There is reason to believe that it was through the efforts of such people that the Vedic religion spread and flourished.

There is an appeal in the Veda for a man who will "step beyond what is human and elect for the Divine Word, and establish his leadership (*praṇiti*) with all his friends" (AV. 7.105). These self-appointed leaders of the people worked independently of the state authorities, relying on popular support for their work. These spiritual leaders helped to preserve the religion of the people, even when in later ages, the ruling authorities were hostile to it. Among them were those who carried on the oral tradition of the Vedas by committing them to memory and passing them on

(from father to son, and teacher to pupil) age after age. The Vedas are still being recited by hundreds of brāhmaṇas (in the literal sense of 'Veda-knowers') every day in different parts of India. As a result of this the Vedas have the most perfect texts among ancient books.

The demands of the Vedas, however, cannot be fully satisfied only by this. "What will he do with the Vedic verse (ṛk)" a Ṛṣi asks, "who does not know the Eternal (akṣaram) of the Vedic verse,—the supreme heaven in which all the Devas dwell?" He affirms: "Those who have known That are perfect" (RV. 1.164. 39). In every age there have been men and women dedicated to the pursuit of that knowledge and that perfection. They have carried on the spiritual tradition of the Veda to this day, offering support to the fundamentals of religion in different sects and creeds, viewed in the light of their knowledge, and winning followers who strive to know That with their own spiritual efforts.

We have given above some of the leading ideas which dominate the Vedic world. Along this line of inquiry one has to find out how the Vedic world as the back-ground has influenced the later phases of the Vedic religion, known as Hinduism (literally, the religion originating in the region of the Sapta Sindhus — the Seven Rivers), and also in what respects it agrees with, and differs from, the Aryan religion, professed and practised in Europe and other parts of the world.

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT

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Life and existence, when sought to be taken comprehensively, appear to involve three dimensions. The finite individual, the universal nature and the transcendent Reality. The finite individual, a stone, a plant, an animal, a human being are familiar facts of normal experience. They constitute our world. But the vast nature, the physical phenomenon, the animal kingdom and the human society, as a whole and in its major components is less frequently contemplated normally but is a reality in its own right, a universal reality, of which the finite individuals, the stone, the plant, the animal and man are particularisations representing the same universal reality in individual nuances.

But the individual and the universal realities show many gradations of being, broadly represented by Matter, Life and Mind. And there is a clear indication of a process, a movement, an evolution in these. And Mind, by no means, seems to be an end term, a finished organisation. It is deeply marked by division and conflict and points to a state and a status of unity, a harmony, a more perfect organisation. Evidently, there must be a 'higher', a 'possible', a 'more perfect' and perhaps the 'most perfect', as a definite side and dimension to the individual and the universal.

The nature and the being of these three and their mutual relations is the crux of the matter in the understanding of the diverse issues of life. A true appreciation of the nature of the individual, the universal and the transcendent and a harmonious and balanced relationship between them can be the yard-stick with which to measure and assess the success and achievement of a philosophical system of thought and of a cultural status and growth. It is a most interesting pursuit to study phiolsophical systems, Western and Eastern, as also the cultures of the world,

past and present, with this perspective of three dimensions of experience and existence. There are systems which show a high appreciation of the universial, almost to the neglect of the individual and the transcendent and they tend to become pantheistic or monistic of a particular type. There are then those that are preoccupied more with the truth of the individual, a pluralism is then the natural consequence. There are then those to which the transcendent is almost the whole and the essence of existence. The individual and universal then get undermined and the empirical reality becomes a problem.

The cultures too have had their emphases on the one or the other and even the same culture might exercise different emphases at different periods of its history.

Indian culture from its foundations in the Vedas has shown a vivid appreciation of the transcendent as the real Reality dominating and determining the rest. The empirical life, however, is much appreciated in Vedic times and a fine balance and proportion seems to have been achieved among the individual, the universal and the transcendent. But the Upanishads became fairly marked out in two lines, one emphasising and carrying forward the Vedic balance and the other getting more preoccupied with the transcendent and showing a relative lack of appreciation of the individual and the universal. The latter philosophical thought of India has predominantly been more drawn towards the transcendent. However, there have been philosophical systems like Śaiva Siddhānta and Vīra Śaivism in particular, which have, one might say, represented the other trend of the Upanishads.

Indian cultural life, in its long history, has had naturally many different emphases according to the conditions of its inner urge and aspiration and the external socio-political circumstances. Recent Hinduism, since the time of Dayanand Saraswati and Ram Mohan Roy, re-invigorated by many outstanding spiritual and religious personalities, has been reorienting and recreating itself and getting into a fresh form of faith and confidence regarding the entire situation of life. The major line of recreation has been the growth of attitude and interest in empirical life, the world, the individual, the amelioration of circumstances, the civil and political life, the general social conditions. The impact of the West has been the dominant influence in all this. However, under the

present circumstances, the Indian values of the individual and the universal have also been coming to the fore. Dayanand, for example, recaptured and forcefully represented the Vedic balance.

But a systematic and proper recreation of the social thought of India is yet a problem. World-affirmation is the larger and prior issue, which too has to be duly worked out. Since Ram Mohan's days the spirit of world-affirmation has been steadily built up, but this is much counteracted by the world-negation philosophies of earlier times. A clear and conscious philosophical reorientation is much needed to give to the Indian mind a clarity of approach and effectivity of will to contemporary life and its problems.

The real issue for Indian philosophy, covering most of the influential schools exercising a living sway over Indian minds, is a clear thinking out of the relations of the transcendent with the individual and the universal. The transcendent is no doubt the absoulte reality, but the empirical fact cannot be outside it and must be in some way intimately connected with it. This is the essential position to get clear about. If the empirical is in some way intimately connected with it, then the empirical can lead on to that as also be a medium of Its expression and menifestation, even be a unique and an original situation for a unique quality of manifestation of the transcendent. And in the empirical field, the individual and the universal have again to be clearly inter-related. The individual is a particularisation of the universal. The particularisation is a clear fact and so is also the universality of the phenomenon. The individual has, therefore, to live and grow in his individuality and uniqueness, but with a clear sense of solidarity with the universal. And the two together live and grow in an increasing measure, in a sense of solidarity and relationship with the transcendent.

These are the philosophical positions incipiently taking shape in the Indian thought and mind, but needing to be elaborately and clearly stated and worked out in a manifold manner in our relation to science and technology, international relations, national life and other issues of contemporary living.

In regard to the social thought, the first thing to recognise is that human society as an empirical fact has a unity and solida-

rity of existence. This fact is sustained, supported and inspired by the transcendent Reality and is a field of realisation and manifestation of the same. And that the individual is a unity with an essential solidarity with the society as a whole, so that it contributes to the good of the whole society as also is benefitted by the status of being of the whole society. A separation of the individual from the society can be only a limited and partial affair. It cannot be an absolute fact. In body, life and mind, we share in the nature of the universal and an individual does not possess them as absolutely original facts. His soul or the spiritual element, however called otherwise, is of the same essence and nature of the supreme Spirit, which covers and includes all existence. There too the individual as individual is not an absolute fact. An advanced individual is always limited by the level of the society and it is only as the society advances that more advanced individuals can become possible.

An individual growing individually, universally and transcendentally, i.e., in his personal unity and integration, in his inner oneness with others and in his contact and interchange with the transcendent, this is the conception of individual growth and perfection. The society as such must grow in its self-awareness as a social unity with individuals growing as unique personalities and increasingly expressing the higher consciousness of the transcendent in terms of unity, harmony and mutuality.

In this connection, it will be interesting to observe that individual salvation, the *mokṣa*, of our philosophies, needs a reconsideration. A liberation from involvements in external nature is the very foundation of spiritual living. A life of desires and involvements is a life of subjection to the objects of desire to which one feels attached and dependent on. This life is, indeed, a poor life. But is the liberation or can it even be, while in life, truly complete and absolute? The liberated person discovers his true identification with the free spirit within him or above him and he enjoys enormous freedom and happiness. But does some identification, limited and secondary though, with his own imperfect body, life and mind of the universal nature of which he is a part, not continue to persist? And if that does, then our *mokṣa* is of a particular degree and quality, which needs to be defined. It can be argued that *mokṣa* gets perfected only on leaving the body. But

a *mokṣa*, which is realisable in body, may also be perfectible in body. In fact, a mode of existence, which offers the opportunity of spiritual freedom would suggest the possibility and inherent intention of spiritual perfectibility. And that would lead to another spiritual possibility, that of collective liberation and perfection.

The Buddha gave a most sublime and moving expression to this impulse and aspiration when he refused to go to heaven so long as there remained a single being on earth in ignorance and *Duḥkha*. And so did Vivekananda when he fervently prayed that he be born again and again to serve God in the poor and the miserable. But these sentiments are rare expressions in the general massive aspiration for individual *Mukti*.

It will have to be said that our traditional *mokṣa* is the first and basic achievement of spiritual life, but not its highest aim. That aim we must now elaborate to guide and inspire the contemporary Indian life.

The actual social thought as it is developing in India at the moment is determined by the ideals of Western democracy. Liberty, equality and fraternity are, indeed, high ideals. But egoistic pluralism is the wrong foundation for the realisation of these. An egoistic pluralism affirms a basic social reality of a number of self-seeking individuals, without an essential and a basic unity. The unity achievable in such a case can only be a weak and a fluctuating one, dependent on the compatibility or otherwise of diverse and contradictory interests of the individuals.

The reconstruction of social thought above suggested involves an affirmation of individuality of body, life and mind recognising itself as part of the universal Matter, Life and Mind and the spiritual element as part of the supreme universal Spirit. The egoistic separative selfhood, therefore, is not affirmed as the real truth of life. It is a condition and a circumstance through which the true individuality in its process of growth has to pass. But the more important part of our reconstruction is the relationship with the transcendent, which gives direction and character to our future progress, individual and social. The unity of the transcendent is the unity of the supreme Reality, which is the highest self of all and, therefore, accords to all their highest fulfilment. The egoistic self-seeking personality in its self-giving action to the universal

and transcendent attains qualitatively distinct fulfilments, which are far superior to the satisfaction of the desires which the ego-personality normally seeks and where strife and struggle exist. The deeper individuality is in relation of unity with others and intrinsically carries a self-satisfaction in itself. Thus a three-fold satisfaction of an abiding quality comes to an individual. A three-fold development, individual, universal and transcendent brings a threefold fulfilment in three essential dimensions of personality and existence.

Western social thought stands on egoistic pluralism, so far as democratic thought is concerned, and socialistic monism so far as communism is concerned. Of course, the two can be combined in varying degrees and that is what is happening a great deal at the moment. But the normal egoistic personality is the basis in all these cases. However, reason and thought of the egoistic man are accepted as the governing principle of life and an order is sought to be realised through law and rule. But reason is a generalising and abstracting principle and it cannot comprehend concrete and unique wholes of life and deal with them adequately. It must always deal with individuals according to rules, ignoring the individualising factors. Thus an individual cannot in a rational ordering of society receive consideration as individual. The so-called freedom of the individual of democratic thought is really the freedom of the ego to indulge in its separative impulses within certain limits. But this separatism inherent in the ego creates its own problems and, as reaction, comes into being the socialistic thought which affirms the solidarity of the State as against the freedom of the individual.

The aim of Western social thought, whether democratic or socialistic, is power and material prosperity of life. Scientific research and education too are primarily geared to this aim.

Indian social thought primarily rests on the egoistic pluralism of democratic thought, but combines with it a strong emphasis of socialistic thought in its conception of a welfare state. The "welfare" conception in her case is further qualified by the Gandhian emphasis of uniting ethics with politics. This constitutes an original quality in Indian social thought.

But the foundation in all this social thought, Western and Indian, democratic and socialistic, is the egoistic personality and it stands or falls by the merits and demerits of the egoistic personality.

If we take a larger view of Indian philosophy and cultural life and seek to work out a social thought for the present, competent to deal with problems that confront Indian life and for which it must find a solution, then a larger and a deeper conception has to be worked out. And the perspective of the individual, the universal and the transcendent and a right relationing of the three is offered here as a possible line of approach.

This perspective will primarily give a few new attitudes, which will mean new creative forces for recreation of social life. The first is that the egoistic personality is a separative formation of life, serving a subordinate purpose, and not to be cherished as an intrinsic value. The individual selfhood to be cherished is the one that feels and enjoys its solidarity with others and is sensitive of the higher, and which continually seeks to grow in its individuality as also its universality and its transcendent dimension. Two, that reason is a good organising principle of human consciousness, but incapable of appreciating the individual and promoting individuality and uniqueness and concrete wholes of life and existence. For that, a more integral function of consciousness, an intuitive penetration and identification, is needed. Three, that society is a concrete whole and unit of existence, of which an individual is an essential and inseparable factor, involving a relation of mutual contributoriness in being as well as becoming, in status of existence as also quality of activity. Four, that the present status of the individual and society is extremely imperfect and that higher and higher qualities of existence lie above them, exercising a pull on them in their growth and development.

These are the basic new attitudes that this perspective of the individual, the universal and the transcendent is likely to give to us. And it is perfectly possible to try to assess the new values of social living that can usher in and the effectivity and power they can give to deal with the social problems.

SPIRITUALISM — ITS PLACE IN LIFE AND EDUCATION

BY

PROF. V. P. BOKIL, M.A., S.T.C.D.

Poona

Several Western Philosophers have used the term 'Spiritualism' in a restricted sense — meaning 'a belief that departed spirits communicate with men at seance through some medium.' But here it is used in a wider sense to mean 'the school of philosophy that recognises the existence of the Spirit or soul as all-pervading, all-knowing and all-powerful.' The word 'Spiritual' is used by all to denote and connote all that is holy, divine and inspired; then there should be no objection to use 'spiritualism' as a philosophy founded on the doctrine of the divine — synonymous with idealism. Thus spiritualism means spiritualistic philosophy as opposed to materialistic philosophy; the former taking its stand on the fundamental belief that behind and beyond the world of perception there exists some invisible and immutable spirit or energy as against the latter recognising only matter or physical substance as real and negativing the existence of any power or spirit behind it.

Spirit or Soul as Reality:

The fundamental doctrine of spiritualism is that the spirit or soul is the only reality in this universe; it is endless and changeless, it has been in existence all the time, it is both immanent and transcendent and pervades the whole world, it has its centre everywhere but circumference nowhere. The physical world — both animate and inanimate — is its manifestation limited by time and space, described by name and form, governed by the law of cause and effect. This is so succinctly stated by Sage Vyāsa in Bhāgavata:

द्वे रूपे वासुदेवस्य व्यक्तं चाव्यक्तमेव च ।
अव्यक्तं ब्रह्मणो रूपं व्यक्तमेतच्चराचरम् ॥

"The existence of God is to be realised in two stages — one of them being concrete and the other abstract; the abstract is the all-pervading spirit and the concrete is this physical world — animate

and inanimate." The material creation is visible and changeable. No scientist has yet been able to explain how the infinite form of spirit manifests itself in so many finite forms. Still the latest researches in science have shown that matter as such does not really exist, that it can be resolved into protons and electrons and that some indescribable energy seems to be the ultimate reality. Thus modern science comes to the help of spiritualistic monism in as much as it tends to prove that some spirit or energy exists to serve as the lasting substratum to all perceptible matter.

Universal Brotherhood:

Thus, the soul is the one common thread running through the whole creation — through men, animals, plants and material substances. This thread makes it possible for them to understand each other. All are children of that one God and thereby their universal brotherhood is an inborn heritage: it needs no logic to be proved, no law to be sanctioned. That is why our ancients uttered the following prayer at the end of every great work or performance :—

सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद्दुःखभाग् भवेत्॥

"May all of us become happy and healthful. May good fortune bless us all. May none have to suffer any distress." What a noble idea is there at the back of this prayer! What is elevating thought it is to entertain good wishes for all our brethren!! What a convincing argument is this in these days of democracy to show that all men are equal before God and law, that they all have equal rights and duties and that they get equal opportunities for their activities, in the state!!! In practical life different people may be busy doing different jobs in pursuance of their innate tendencies; still theoretically they all enjoy equality, liberty and fraternity under the same government. Similarly, the human beings may lead their lives in various ways; yet one and the same soul force or life principle propels them internally in their efforts and achievements. When all are children of the same god, who should hate whom? Who should rob whom? Thus social and moral virtues are logical corollaries of this monistic spiritualism. No other theory or argument is required to convince the people of these

social and ethical values. No other philosophy can explain this theory of values so effectively as our spiritualism.

The History of Spiritualism:

The origin of our spiritualistic philosophy is to be traced to Puruṣa-Sūkta (the song of the Great Person) in the Ṛgveda. That meaningful hymn describes the Great Person in these words:—

"The Great Person has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. After pervading the earth on all its sides He has stood out ten fingers. This Person pervades this existing universe, the one that has gone by and also the one that is going to be. He is the Master of immortality and the lord of all those (animals) that eat food and grow. This is His greatness, still He is greater than His greatness; this universe is only a fourth part of His self and His other three parts make up the heavens.... When gods thought of the bodily parts of the Great Person, what did they imagine?.... The moon was created from His mind, the sun from His eyes, Indra and fire from His mouth, the wind from his breath, the atmosphere issued forth from His navel, the heaven from his head, the earth from His feet, the quarters and other worlds from His ears."

This is a wonderful description of the Great Person — the Universal Spirit — given by the Vedic Seer whose keen insight and imagination seem to be extraordinary.

In other Vedic literature the Universal spirit is called Brahman, which is also a significant term. The word comes from the Sanskrit root *bṛh*, to spread, to pervade, to expand. Thus Brahman means that Universal energy which pervades the whole world and controls it. Brahman has been in existence all time and everywhere and hence it is described as *aja*, (the unborn), *anādi* (having no beginning), *ananta* (having no end). It is the source of all life, light and bliss and hence it is called *Saccidānandarūpa*. It is the highest kind of knowledge and hence known as *prajñānarūpa*. It is the ultimate reality, the original and ever-lasting substance and the permanent substratum of the universe. It is infinite, immutable and imperceptible to man's senses. It is beyond all worldly qualities or feelings, untinged by any bias and unaffected by any process — and hence supposed to be *nirguṇa, nirākāra,*

nirañjana and *nirvikāra*. The creation, continuation and extinction of the world occur by the will of this Brahman and yet it remains aloof from all these happenings and continues undisturbed (as if nothing has ever come to pass).

Later several Aryan Ṛṣis led a religious life and meditated on the nature of Brahman and experienced the blissful union of their soul with it. They wrote down their experiences in some books known as Upaniṣads and gave practical guidance to their disciples in God-realisation, which then came to be understood as the highest aim of man's life. Logical explanations were given by future scholars and seers on the all-important aspects of this spiritualistic philosophy and methods of self-realisation were also evolved. Such works have been known as Brahmasūtras in which heretic tendencies in the society were very critically exposed and disproved. As time passed by, more popular and palatable presentations of this philosophy were produced by some gifted and god-realised leaders; of which the Bhagavadgītā has become the most attractive. These three works on our spiritualistic philosophy, Upaniṣads, Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgītā — have come down to us as authoritative expositions and are studied as standard books on the subject all over the world. Lord Kṛṣṇa appears in three different capacities before the reader in the Bhagavadgītā; (1) as the son of Vāsudeva and Devakī and friend of Arjuna, (2) as God, the creator of the world and (3) as Brahman, the all-knowing, all-pervading and all-powerful spirit. Moreover, he identifies himself with Brahman and speaks of it in the first person.

ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाऽहममृतस्याव्ययस्य च ।
शाश्वतस्य च धर्मस्य सुखस्यैकान्तिकस्य च ॥

This novel presentation of the Aryan religion and philosophy has become wonderfully enchanting. The cosmic vision of Lord Kṛṣṇa, as described in the eleventh chapter, is a unique feature of the book and it is no wonder that the orthodox Hindu holds this book to his heart for worldly guidance and spiritual bliss.

Spiritualism in Regional Languages:

This spiritualistic philosophy was so well studied and practised in this country that it became a guiding principle in course of time even for the common people. Sanskrit could not be under-

stood by them and hence a need was felt for such philosophic literature in the regional languages like Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada and Tamil. Several saints kept the torch of spiritualism burning in the different regions of India and preached its principles in the people's languages. Ramanand and Tulsidas used Hindi as their medium and taught their followers the methods of devotion to God. Caitanya did the same in Bengal and Meerabai in Gujarat. Saint Jñāneśvara composed his commentary on the Gītā in Marathi and taught Vedānta in a poetic style to the common man in Maharashtra. Then came Namdeva, Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas on the scene in chronological order and held high the banners of Hindu religion and Vedānta philosophy, fluttering gloriously in the society. Similar work was very effectively done in the south by Purandar Das and Kanak Das and long before them by the Tamil Ālwārs and Nāyanmārs, and the Vedic traditions were kept alive. The principles of religion and philosophy were so well bound up with every-day morals by these saints that even in the absence of scholastic learning the Hindus stuck to their religion and tried to live their spiritualistic philosophy. This has been spoken of as "Practical Vedanta" by Swami Vivekanand in his talks to the Americans and Europeans; and its usefulness in modern democratic life has been universally accepted. The advocates of our religion and philosophy have been rationalistic and never dogmatic like the missionaries of Christianity or Islam, who spoke of their own religion as the best and tried to convert other people to their own religion. We have always believed that God is one Reality and can be worshipped and realised by any person in his own way and according to his own conviction. Geometrically speaking, God is at the centre of a circle and nearest to every religion that stands at any point on the circumference around it.

Spiritualism or Idealistic philosophy has been propounded by western thinkers like Socrates and Plato of ancient Greece, Hegel and Bradley of modern Europe, Joad, Horne and Whitehead of America. They believe in the existence of Universal spirit and advise men to be conscious of the same in their dealings in practical life. Jesus Christ has upheld the value of devotion to God as the ideal for man and advised his followers to love and serve God and man. But the spiritualism of these great thinkers does not go so deep as our Indians spiritualism—and especially spiritualistic

monism (Advaita Vedānta)—the truth of which can solve all the problems of life and nature.

Spiritual Aim of Life:

The ultimate aim of man's life has been defined in our spiritualistic philosophy as the realisation of the union of the individual soul with the universal soul. This does not mean that the individual should remain lazy and inactive. On the contrary he has to do his duty in practical life to the best of his ability with an inner consciousness that he is serving the all-pervading soul thereby. Another wrong notion about this spiritualistic aim is that it does not permit man to enjoy any worldly pleasures. The lawgivers say that he is free to enjoy them as they come during his journey towards the goal; he is not to run after them nor is their enjoyment to become his ideal. The advocates of other philosophies preach that the enjoyment of worldly pleasures is the end and aim of man's life. This is obviously ridiculous. No philosopher is ever needed to teach this to man, because by his very nature he longs for pleasures. The philosopher's duty is to show man a path to achieve something better, to attain to some higher plane; and this is very effectively done by our spiritualists. Thirdly, the acquisition of knowledge is considered to be an ideal of man's life. Our spiritualists also expect him to get knowledge; but this knowledge is of the physical world and also of the spiritual world, because the former is not of much value without the latter (as is explained in the following verse from Yogavāsiṣṭha):

आत्मज्ञानं विदुर्ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्यन्यानि यानि तु ।
तानि ज्ञानावभासानि सारस्यानवबोधनात् ॥

"The knowledge of the soul is known as the real knowledge; the knowledge of other things is a mere delusion in the absence of understanding of the essence." Hence all spiritualists (including Jesus Christ) have advised man to know himself; because the individual soul is a spark of the universal soul and a knowledge of the former leads to a realisation of the latter automatically.

Philosophy to supplement Religion:

Philosophy is higher than religion and leaves no room for dogma; its doctrines are based on logic and experience. Religion

may require devotion to some personal god and stimulate emotion on the part of the devotee; but philosophy takes its stand on the invisible principle pervading the universe and expects the aspirant to use his reason and to be guided by his own experience. Religion (as is commonly understood) is sectarian in nature and has a limited scope; but philosophy is of a universal nature and can embrace the whole humanity. Religion may refer to a particular group of persons populating a particular portion of the earth's surface; but philosophy recognises no such restrictions and can cover all those who understand. Religion involves some outward forms of activities like prayer or preaching or worship, which looks different with different people inhabiting different countries and speaking different languages; but philosophy needs no outward form, expects a kind of mental culture and involves genuine understanding. Both philosophy and religion aim at the good man; still the latter may go wrong at times and can be corrected and brought round by the former. However it must be admitted that philosophy is dry and deep, while religion is interesting and enlivening. This is not discussed to make a choice between philosophy and religion, but to show that men should follow such a religion as has a philosophy behind it.

There are many sectarian religions in the world, having different forms of prayer and worship. When the people following them come into contact with each other, they become conscious of the religious differences and begin to quarrel with each other generally. But those who know the real nature and purpose of religion go to the root cause and try to understand each other's views and beliefs; in which case there is no fight. The Vedic religion has the spiritualistic philosophy behind it and hence there have been scarcely any fights among its followers on religious questions. When idol-worship was introduced in the later forms of this religion, differences arose between the sects worshipping different deities, but they did not go to such extremes as to result in blood-shed, because philosophers were available to preach the underlying principles. An idol is after all only a symbol—a concrete, convenient form—to represent the all-pervading spirit: it helps the devotee to concentrate his mind, to reduce his egoism and to train him in doing service to others. That is why our saints have never condemned the worship of a personal God. They have advised the devotee to understand the real nature of God and to

do self-less service to humanity. These are admittedly very good qualities that can lead to universal brotherhood in these democratic days. The Hindus have been instructed by their religious preceptors to do their usual duties in a mental attitude to worship the all-pervading God, with them. Even ascetics like Vyāsa, Śaṅkarācārya and Jñāneśvara never evaded their duties towards the people, they were great philosophers and still greater devotees of God. Śaṅkarācārya says:—

सत्यपि भेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मामकीनस्त्वम्।
सामुद्रो हि तरङ्गः क्वचन समुद्रो न तारङ्गः॥

"Oh Lord, though philosophically there is no difference between you and me, yet I am a part of yourself and not you of me; because a wave belongs to the ocean and never (is it said) the ocean belongs to the wave". No other religion in the world has such a philosophy behind it as our Vedic religion.

Another special feature of our Vedic religion deserves to be remembered. It has been the origin and source of all scientific knowledge including philosophy and hence our preceptors have always encouraged serious study of sciences. The Vedic religion began with the performance of sacrifices (*yajña*) that led to the study of phonetics (*śikṣā*), rites and methods (*kalpa*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), prosody (*chandas*) and astronomy (*jyotiṣa*). The rites and methods included mathematics to prepare the altars for the different sacrifices, botany to select the parts of trees as offerings to the fire, and biology to cut out the limbs of animals as oblations to the sacrificial fire. That handling of plants and animals led to the study of medicine, physiology, anatomy and chemistry. These sciences were critically studied by scholars and scientists and in course of time standard works in Sanskrit came to be written on those subjects. Social and political sciences, too, were dealt with under the comprehensive subject of *dharma* (duty) and authoritative pronouncements were made on them by gifted leaders. Education and psychology, law and administration of Justice, peace and order and military tactics, trade and industry were all investigated by workers concerned and books were composed on them. Thus our religion is not divorced from science or practical life; on the other hand it has given rise to the study of science, and it has been the experience of real scientists that a sufficiently deep

inquiry into any science brings the student to the realisation of the main principles of our spiritualistic philosophy.

Spiritualism in Education:

In spiritualistic education both the teacher and the taught are given importance. The immature mind of the child must come into close contact with the mature mind of the teacher; and then real education begins. Education means and includes both development and improvement; and to this end complete co-operation between the child and the teacher is absolutely essential. According to two other schools of philosophy (viz. naturalism and pragmatism) the child is left to itself too much and too often; it cannot utilize that kind of freedom effectively and beneficially; nor can the teacher give full benefit of his knowledge and experience to his pupils. The Russian realists follow the course of spiritualists in this respect and insist on close contact between the teacher and the taught for the sake of efficiency. This is what is meant by "the bi-polar nature of education", explained by many great educationists ancient as well as modern. Several mechanical appliances have been found out by scientists lately, by which new information can be presented to groups of children in interesting ways; but they cannot replace the teacher in the field of education; because his personal influence is a unique force and the inspiration that he can give to his pupils has no parallel.

According to spiritualism the teacher's duty is to teach and the pupil's duty is to learn. The former must devote himself whole-heartedly to his work and do all he can for the benefit of the latter. Both are sparks of the same divine light; the only difference being the one is mature and the other is immature. The teacher must have due regard for the pupil's individuality, must give him all useful skill and knowledge and must discipline him in an atmosphere of love. Our philosophy and psychology show that every child possesses his self-hood (collected in his previous births) and heredity (derived from his parents) and these two are to be developed and improved through education. There were ideal relations between the teachers and pupils in the Āśrama schools of ancient India. It is true that those conditions cannot be revived in these days; but the spirit can be kept alive and the teachers can cultivate cordial feelings in the pupil's minds with advantage. The

latter must bear in mind that it is in their interest to obey their teacher, to master all useful skill and knowledge and to cultivate the habits of right moral conduct. They must not waste their time and energy in other worldly affairs and must concentrate on studentship in all possible ways. They must be conscious of the great heritage left for them by their forefathers, which they have to receive during their school days and which they have to enrich during their manhood. They must have some high ambition before them and must work towards its realisation as best as they can. Education is a serious affair, leaving no room for wastefulness or light-heartedness.

अभिवादनशीलस्य शिशोर्विद्याव्रतस्य च।
चत्वारि तस्य वर्धन्ते आयुर्विद्या यशो बलम्॥

In this verse the obedient attitude of the pupil is described as very beneficial to him. He must have faith in his teacher and respect for him. Then only his mind will be receptive and can receive whatever is presented to him. It is a well-known principle of psychology that the human mind can take in clear and correct impressions when it is free from any prejudices. This was acted upon by our ancients in a religious attitude and thereby good results of education could be seen everywhere; and questions of indiscipline never arose in those days.

विद्या विमोक्षाय विभाति केवला।
सा विद्या या विमुक्तये।

"Learning or education alone could lead to the solution of difficulties". This was their definition of education and its correctness can be verified at any step or stage. Man can solve his problems in practical or spiritual life with the help of his education alone, the word *vimokṣa* or *vimukti* being understood in its literal and metaphorical senses. It means and includes both the initial and ultimate aims of education that man has ever thought of. It is to be regretted that the full connotation of *brahmacarya* (Studentship) has been lost sight of in these days and that there is no possibility of its renaissance in any future time. The advocates of spiritualism wish to enforce that ideal studentship in their schools as far as possible with the help of parents' associations.

Education as Reconstruction:

The transition of the child from the home to the school should be easy and natural: there should be no bewilderment in it. The child learns to respect its parents at home and the same respectful attitude is shown to the teachers at school. Whatever is learnt at home is reconstructed at school; the only difference being a wider scope is given to the process of reception and reproduction. Spiritualists do expect the young to get a working knowledge of the nature and society about them; during the course of which they should realise the existence of the unseen spirit or energy behind the preceptible phenomena; because the abstract nature of the absolute being cannot be comprehended directly or prematurely.

अविद्यया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते ।

"Through a knowledge of natural sciences man can transcend the limitations of physical nature and through a knowledge of the supreme spirit he can realise and enjoy eternal bliss". This is the experience of our ancient sages as expressed in Īśāvāsyopaniṣad. In this process of education the self-hood and heredity of the educated and also the favourable environment of the school combine and cooperate to produce good results. Thus, this spiritualistic education is also realistic in the sense that the young learner gets sufficient knowledge of the world around him and that he cultivates the necessary skill and aptitude to do his duty in practical life.

Education as Integration:

The rights and privileges of children are recognised in spiritualistic education and their individuality is properly respected. The teacher who knows this philosophy gives them sufficient freedom to use their own observation, intelligence and capacity for practical work. They are also encouraged to sympathise with their neighbours, to help them whenever necessary and to cooperate with them in working out common projects. They are then sure to realise that their school is a replica of the society at large and as such it serves to prepare them for their future social life. In this sense education is a process of integration.

आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र समं पश्यतु मानवः ।

"Man should look upon all others about him as he would upon himself and behave towards them as he would towards his own self". This is the sum and substance of the moral code as expounded in Sanskrit works like the Bhagavadgītā; and the social aspect of spiritualistic education is based on it. Jesus Christ meant the same thing when he advised his followers in these words "Do unto others as you would be done by". Thus the children are led to realise their duties side by side with their rights in our education. In fact, our law-givers have laid greater stress on duties (*dharma*) than on rights in Sanskrit works; because men are, by their very nature, always ready to enforce rights (which involve some kind of gain), but always unwilling to do their duties (which involve some kind of strain or loss). Studious performance of duties has, therefore, to be inculcated persistently upon the pupils' minds at home, at school and in society. The disturbances and indiscipline in our modern social life and educational world are due to lack of insistence on doing one's duty; and this failure is to be traced to the framers of Indian Constitution, in which along with secularity, spiritualistic philosophy should have been mentioned as its basic principle.

Education for Individual and Social Welfare:

Spiritualistic education means and includes self-effort on the part of pupils, which is necessary in every kind of activity like attention, observation, experimentation, composition, application, introspection etc. Healthy children are instinctively active and they are encouraged to do something useful during wakeful hours. They are shown how to maintain health and how to cultivate strength and courage. Physical health and strength are the basic needs of higher achievements in individual, social and national life. It is a wrong notion to suppose that spiritual life means neglect of physical health. Our law-givers insist on the maintenance of health and strength; but they warn man not to make a show of his strngth, not to molest the weak and the helpless, not to indulge in worldly pleasures. It is also a wrong notion to suppose that spiritual life means submission before inimical aggression or inactivity before injustice. Our law-givers are always up in arms against injustice and aggression; and naturally they advise their followers to fight with the enemy bravely to the last drop of blood. A spiritualist cannot be a slave or simpleton. As he aspires for

freedom of the soul, so also he works for the freedom of the nation. When higher values are at stake, he cares not for wealth, spares no pains, fears no death. A spiritualist does long for peace; but it is the peace of a conqueror and not that of a coward. The peace, freedom and happiness of a spiritualist are of a higher type, aiming at individual and social welfare. They are not restricted in nature nor is their scope limited to a particular society or country. Spiritualists are ever ready for peaceful co-existence and rational solutions of worldly problems. When we are thinking of international relations and world government we feel the need of this spiritualistic philosophy which is so broad-based as to cover the interest of the whole human race. Our Vedic seers have rightly said:—

सङ्गच्छध्वं संवदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम्।

"Come together, talk together, understand rightly the minds of each other". Such an understanding of a cordial nature is very urgently required both in national and international matters at present. Mere weapons of war like atom-bombs, hydrogen bombs and space rockets will not help in solving great problems of national or international importance. The mental attitude of a spiritualistic philosopher is needed for it, as has been so often explained by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the former President of our Indian Union.

Spiritualistic monism is difficult to understand. Naturally many people have wrong notions about it and about its education. They ask—"Will you teach your children to sit silent and meditate on God's name or form from the initial stage of education?". Our answer to this question is quite clear. "No, that cannot be done." We know that the child mind can perceive only concrete things and that very gradually their relations can be grasped by it. Hence the children must first know something about the physical and social worlds in which they live; but while learning the useful facts about them, they must cultivate faith and respect for the elders and must work with a will and zeal. Just as they have some rights to enjoy; so also they have some duties to perform; the elders take care of them, supply them with all necessary things and educate them; therefore they must bow down before them, do their bidding and learn readily as much as possible. During this process of education an atmosphere of "love and serve", "give and

take", "deserve and desire", "live and achieve" is created and the pupils are led to go deep and grasp principles, to control their own mind (whenever necessary) and cultivate strength, to feel for others and help them in their difficulty, to rise gradually from the animal to the human level. They will be able to realise that there is a time for work and a time for play and that there is some high aim before them to attain. Some early habits of deep breathing and silent meditation can be then formed by them with advantage. Some educationists say that the mental training which students get during their study of social and physical sciences can teach them discipline and form their moral character. But this is wrong thinking: one cannot take the road leading to Bombay and reach Bangalore; similarly, a study of material sciences can not lead the student to the realisation of the spiritual principles behind them. Hence, the necessity of religious education for the young is so keenly felt; which alone can elevate their minds to a thoughtful level, can minimise the present struggle for power, pleasure and prosperity and can create an atmosphere for peace and happiness. In the study of material sciences the out-going tendencies of the human mind are working; but only religion and philosophy can cultivate the inward and introspective tendencies that are helpful for peace and happiness.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION

BY

MULK RAJ ANAND

Bombay

There is always a noisy quarrel, whenever the question of 'Tradition' and 'Innovation' is discussed. Because, somehow, even the most sophisticated men of culture seem to be biased. Especially, the difference arises between the dyed in the wool conservatives like T. S. Eliot and the mechanically minded progressives. The balanced view, which is somewhere in the middle, as the Buddha said, is lost.

What is Tradition?

If we look at all maturely into the content of this word, its constituents seem to be the innovations of the past, which have become part of the human metabolism, the warp and woof of our inheritence, with which we are clothed. We take these old innovations mostly for granted. Therefore, they tend to become habits. Therefore, everything we do, without self-awareness and criticism of tradition, becomes the useless old myth, the cliche and claptrap.

And now what is Innovation?

I suppose, 'Innovation' is a new way of looking at things in the light of fresh experience and knowledge, a departure from the old to the new myths.

The element which unites 'Tradition' and 'Innovation' is ostensibly the continuous consciousness of man, which integrates the memories of the experiences of the past of the old thoughts and feelings with the new acquisitions. Thus memory is the key element between the old selves of man and the new contemporary self.

The continuous consciousness between the old selves and the new selves is complicated, in so far as the cultural process is concerned, by the survival of certain vertical aspirations, achievements, and insights, in the form of human values. They seem to

be permanent And, therefore, people say: 'human nature does not change, and we must live entirely by the past proven values.

On the other hand, if we look at even permanent human values in the context of history, that is to say, in time, then, as society changes, even if ever so little, though revolutionary, breaks with the past. Thus the permanent human values are transformed, to some extent or the other, and have to be hammered into shape as new values.

If we adopt the revolutionary method. then it is possible to look at traditional values in the framework of the kind of society which produced them and see, if, under changed social conditions, they remain usable values for today or not.

For instance, polyandry was the accepted value in the old myths of the Indian epic, *Mahābhārata*. This may have been so, because there was the need of particular ruling families to conserve land wealth in the same family through five brothers generating children through one wife. Again, the burning of a woman to test her virtue called *Sati*, seems to have been an accepted practice in the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic, 2000 years ago and even as late as the 19th century, when Ram Mohan Roy compaigned to abolish it by law. And in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the god Kṛṣna advises his disciple Arjuna of the Pāṇḍus, to go to war against his cousins — the Kurus, on the basis of the right against the wrong. I doubt if anyone but an Arjuna among the Pāṇḍus and Kuṛus of today would accept the advice of a new Krishna and release atomic war even through self-righteousness.

II

I would like to differentiate between the usable myths, values and feelings of our heritage from the irrelevant myths, values and feelings by describing the time process in the rough and ready manner.

The sanction for this exists in the Hindu division of the *Satya Yuga*, the age of truth, and the *Kali Yuga*, the age of evil. But whereas the Hindu division of the ages was conceaded a thousand years ago, when the Brahmins thought they had lost power and declared all future time to be in the process of dissolution of the most sacred values, as a contemporary Indian, I see,

that this two fold division is too rough and ready. Let us divide the story of mankind in three different times, in the terms of the growth of human culture.

There was the pre-historic period, as well as the early portion of the first thousand years of known history, which we may call the age of the gods. Our ancient ancestors, whether in India, Greece, China, Egypt or Babylon, seemed to be concerned to fight dread nature. And they elaborated all the beneficient, terrorising, or fearful, unknown phenomena, into gods, spirits and ghosts. This kind of unionism characterises most members of the human family in the initial periods of the change from living in caves and trees and rock shelters, through the fruit-gathering to the land cultivating societies. The unknown potential of power resides in the hands of the gods, who are supposed to give rain, good harvests and postpone deaths if you pray on your bended knees. In the poems of the Hindu Vedas, in Greek drama, as well as in the old Testament, the Supreme god Brahman, Zues or Jehovah, and his various incarnations, are the ultimate realities, who govern the universe, arbitrate in the affairs of human beings, and determine the destiny of every man.

The hangover of the age of the gods has continued right into our times. And it seems easy for most people, who do not believe in the experimental method of the science, and fasten upon the unsolved mysteries of the universe, to affirm the existence of a man with the big beard sitting on top of the sky, or in some subtle incarnation to be achieved through withdrawal from the world into a cell.

And yet in all the ancient and medieval periods, whenever man asked questions about phenomena and noumena, he ended up frequently by dismissing the ultimate reality of godhood and modestly accepted rules of conduct among men to integrate the individual with the groups in ordinary social functioning.

Gautama Buddha was one of the first of the prophets of mankind to say that he had no proof of the existence of god. There were others who were also non-committal. And quite a few early scientists in Greece like Herodotus, Pythagoras, and even Aristotle, are unsure about the existence of the anthropo-geographic divinity.

Seizing upon these hunches, some of the great men of the 15th century Italian Renaissance like Galileo, Leanardo, Copernicus, seemed to have questioned ultimate principles. And the general feeling arose that while Jesus was a genuine prophet, the idea of heaven and hell as the Christian Church conceived it, may not be any more than an exalted metaphor.

Thus the hangover of the age of the god remained, but, in the renaissance, poets like Shakespeare began to see a new unknown fate, governing men's lives — the unknown evil in men. Iago, Hamlet, Step-father and Lear's daughters have something uncannily evil about them which hinders the lives of others.

Later, about the 18th, 19th centuries, in which the hangover of the unknown fate in the hands of the gods, and the unknown fate in the hands of evil men, survives in various myths, to crush humanity, a completely new unknown fate emerges. This is Power itself, based on money, machines and organised armies.

Shakespear's Prospero had recourse to this myth in the play called *The Tempest* by using Ariel, the inventive spirit, to subjugate the Island and exploit the ape man Caliban's labour. And in the poems, novels and stories of the period of the idustrial revolution in the West, specially in Thomas Hardy, a new fabulism arises in regard to the unknown potencies of money power. The lives of people are governed, without their being aware of it, by the bulls and bears in the stock exchanges of the giant capitals of the world. The weavers in India believed that god was unkind and had condemned them to worklessness and death, while really, in fact, the British Parliament had decided not to import the finished goods of the legendary handloom manufacturers of Dacca and Murshidabad into great Britain, because of the competition which these fabrics offered to the textiles manufactured by machine in the midland countries. Today, a famine can be caused in Africa, by the devaluation of local currency in terms of the dollar.

So, like the myths of the ancient world, the unknown power of the gods, the myths of the medieaval world, the unknown power of evil in men, survive among us in sentiments, obscurantist beliefs, and habitual rationalisations; the new contempo-

rary myth of men, as a free individual realising himself in and through the groups, does not arise even though more knowledge is available today than ever before. This very knowledge is being used to bolster up and defend the power of a few men with their money and machines and armies against the whole of humanity.

III

We cannot accept all the myths, legends, philosophies, moralities and exalted thoughts of all the ages of mankind. Some of us in India have broken down almost completely under the burden of our 'mighty past'! Our intelligentsia was often using some of the noblest ideas of bygone days as compensations for the pacivities, weaknesses and despairs of the present.

This led to revivalism and the arrogant assertion of a distinction between the 'Idealistic East' and 'The Materialistic West'.

There is no doubt that there are, in our inheritence, certain insights, values and speculations, which have given intensity and depth to man. These qualities could be communicated to all other men. The higher consciousness achieved in certain forms of inquiry, the sympathy generated among men by doctrines of non-hurting against the current cruelties, as well as the wisdom of the heart evidenced by many of our old poets, has been poured out into the awareness of many generations in common proverbs, bonmots and in the folk-tales.

In every regress of evolution, it is impossible to resurrect such awareness, absorb it into one's bones, and make it part of the self-experience. Always, however, one has to remember that new knowledge, particularly that given by experimental science, has tended to make history more than a speck in the illusionary *māyā* of Brahma's eyes and make the cow more than a holy mother, by yielding milk if she is better fed and the ritual murder of human beings, and goats, and cocks, before the hungry goddess is no longer acceptable myth.

I believe that, in the tradition from the age of the gods, through the age of evil in man, and further to the age of man against Power, we need to be vigilant about every thought, feeling and mood. It is quite possible from the bias of chauvinism, from the need to escape from realities, or from the ease in using dead habits, to mistake one's inner life and outer experience.

Often, the tired men of our civilisation have accepted the old fabulisms, because it was easier to compromise than to struggle for truth. Also, the attitude of criticism of past and present values, with a view to integrating fresh responses is hindered by dogmatic faith in a partially useful and largely inhibitary philosophy. The coming of the machine as an instrument of the world industrial revolution seemed disasterous to even the newest enlightened men like Ruskin, Morris and Gandhi. But we have seen that it is possible to divorce machine from the exploiting groups and use the innovations in techniques and to create wealth, and distribute it through mutual aid. And this wealth can transform society by creating opportunities for leisure, through which the individual can cultivate himself for ever new flowering of the sensibility.

The danger which threatens mankind is that the crisscross of power relations, between the old world and the new world, obscures the fundamental aim of our time, that the individual be released to the work of synthesis between the relavent old myth and the new realities to build the new age of man.

At this moment, after giant world wars, a third final conflict is threatening, because man has not been able to forget the myths which promote cruelty, hatred and contempt and shorten the gap between his aspirations and the implementation of these hopes.

The casualities of fear, suspicion and despair have alienated the individual and even nations and large groups, against themselves and each other.

As the problems of bringing the new illumination to the nooks corners of Asia and Africa, and Latin America (which have all

been left by the believers in the old myths, in the sheerest physical backwardness) are subtle and intricate, the intelligentsia is called upon to evolve a new criticism, which may abolish the shibboleths of the past and the half lies of present, to usher our societies into the struggle for achieving the ideal of political freedom, which has inspired us in the various liberation movements and the realisation of which forms the root of all the other freedoms.

Our criticism must be based on imagination, sympathy and realism.

WE THE CIVILISED!

BY

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

Madras

Gopalakrishna Bharati, the celebrated author of 'Nandanar Charitram' in describing the dance of Lord Nataraja, sang: "He danced in a much civilized way in the Golden-Hall". One is struck by the expression 'civilized way' occurring in that song. It is said that the Lord vivified the art of dance in a hundred and eight patterns or varieties. He danced in a way causing the very spheres to tremble at its tempo and verve. Perhaps in order to avoid such a scare and fear in the hearts of those witnessing, he might have resorted to the refined pattern of Tāṇḍava, with his left foot raised exquisitely and the anklet-bells chiming all the time in perfect rhythm, while all the world wondered. We realise the significance of the word 'civilized' in the context of the song.

But we ought not to infer from this that at other times the Lord should have danced wildly or with no sense of timing. Perhaps, it will be more appropriate to interpret the meaning as that the Lord so skillfully displayed the art that easily the hidden purpose of the art of *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* became intelligible to the gathered heavenly host. "In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert, and cannot dance till Śiva wills it. He rises from His rapture, and dancing sends through inert matter pulsing waves of awakening sound, and lo! matter also dances appearing as a glory round about Him. He sustains its manifold phenomena. In the fulness of time, still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire and gives new rest. This is poetry; but none the less science."* The significance will be apparent only to those who have a true perception of the Ultimate Reality. This, evidently, is what Gopalakrishna Bharati conveys through the expression 'civilized'. The concept of dance itself is symbolical; for the light that dances in the inner shrine of the soul is expressed as the form of Naṭarāja performing the dance in the golden canopied Sabhā at Tillai.

* Dance of Śiva by Ananda Coomaraswamy, p. 94-95.

From this one may be easily led to make out 'civilization' as an attempt to conceal anything from being patently recognizable. The poet Kālidāsa has created a beautiful situation in his drama *Śākuntalam*. Hamsapadikā, belonging to the harem of the King, not having secured the love of the king for long, complains of it in a fine song that she sings: "O honey-drinking bee! dwelling in the heart of the fresh lotus, you have forgotten the days of your enjoyment of the mango-blossom!" The king, listening to it, understands the inneuendo of Hamsapadikā regarding his own partiality to the new queen Vasumatī and his utter neglect of his former passion. He explains its meaning to his friend Mādhavya and asks him to go and tell his old love that her song has hit the mark. In saying this the king utters: 'Go friend, and communicate to her that I have fully followed her purport; but be careful to convey the message in a civilized' manner." The exact word used by the poet there is 'Nāgarika-vṛttyā'. We can gather that it implies giving out a thing not bluntly but leaving it to be somewhat delicately suggested. Certainly one can expect such a refinement in urban life and particularly in high society.

The word 'nāgarika' has evolved out of 'nagara' meaning 'city'. Further, the conduct of a man of the town gets equated with 'civilization'. But if habits and customs of town life alone are indicative of refinement, we may have to further probe into them in order to find out whether really they are so.

Modern research has concluded that jungle-dwellers and savages originally, should have later on built cities and become gradually refined. Still, none can definitely say when the notion of the town-life as superior to the rural, got into people's heads. On the other hand, we note there have been differences in civilization between country and country, especially between those of the East and the West. Another thing also is certain, namely, that however much we may try to probe into the past history of our country, we can never come across such a dark age as to justify any conclusion that people lived as savages and canibals. Though Western thought has given us the Darwinian theory which propounds man's evolution from the ape, we have in our country no such conception at all. Our thinkers always thought that life on this planet was and ever will be in the same manner, with ups and downs, with refinement in habits and with varying degrees of

standards of living side by side. Sometimes, we find our forbears, having looked upon urban life as inferior even to that of the forest. Otherwise, Kālidāsa would not have put into the mouth of Śāradvata the pregnant words: "Even as one clean after a bath gazes at a person unwashed, or as a pure one looks on an impure one, or as an awakened one comes upon another still in the effects of slumber or as one free finds another in the shackles of restriction, so do I find myself faced with bewilderment at the site of this city." Again when Duṣyanta sarcastically remarks at Śakuntalā that she has only exhibited the viles of a woman in trying to involve him in a clandestine marriage with her, Gautamī, the lady accompanying Śakuntalā from the hermitage, breaks out scornfully thus: 'Bred up from her infancy in the hermitage, how can this poor child know of such arts of simulation?' Clearly it makes out that only the town-bred can behave cunningly. At any rate, Kālidāsa has not rated the urban civilization very high.

Nevertheless it may not be far wrong to say that the town-bred people lead an artificial life. With the increase in the standards of living, it is but natural for the urban citizen to crave for more and more of comforts. Comforts in their turn make him seek greater pleasures. Pleasures breed indolence and loss of sensitivity. His mind revolves on the axis of the *self*. Perhaps, this was the motive of our kings in leaving their royal dwellings for the forest towards their later years.

We find numerous contradictions in life. We associate sometimes with a man of prosperity and affluence a strange combination of miserliness and greed. There may be found chillness of heart among people living in the towns and claiming to be refined and urbane. It is they that sometimes behave in a truculent manner towards the poor and the suffering in denying them even their little needs. We notice a wide gulf separating the haves and the have-nots. Increasingly one favours a juster distribution of profits by the manufacturer among the thousands of labourers who have been responsible for the earning of profits. Otherwise it is criticised as exploitation of the needy by those benefited by fortune. If this is not uncivilized what else is, the critics wonder.

As science advances by leaps and bounds, one is tempted to consider the age we live in as the machine age. Some years back

the famous film-hero, Charlie Chaplin, produced a new picture "Modern Times" in which the main purpose was to laugh at the way the world was progressing, that is, hardly keeping man beyond the level of a machine. In illustration of it, he made a machine to help a man in his attempt to lift food to his mouth. Finally the grip of machine became so unbearable to the man himself that he had to cry for help for liberating him from the demon of the machine. The picture created a feeling of aversion at the so-called hights reached by civilization, as evidenced in the growth of the machine age.

To the mind diagnosing the causes of these and other evils a hidden secret is discoverable. In other words, it is what we recognize as 'appearance of things'. In Sanskrit the word 'loka' signifies the world. It derives from the root 'lok' which means 'to appear'. When we trace the root of the fundamental thought, it becomes clear that much of what we find in the world is mere appearance as distinct from the Real. Most of the origins of Sanskrit words in a similar manner bear for us much developed thought. Indeed, nothing more need be proved of a civilized people than their language being so perfect.

One thing is certain. that behind all appearances there should exist a Reality. All other activities which draw us away from seeking that, make us caught up in an endless whirlpool of distraction. We feel satisfied with what skims on the surface and mistake it for the substance. But thinkers everywhere have invariably sought the Real and tried to wean us towards Truth. We know Goldsmith saying that the Vicar of Wakefield chose his wife, as she chose her wedding gown, not for a glossy surface but for qualities that would wear well.

Certainly our ancients had a higher conception of life. Even keeping the body in a healthy state is, according to them, for the main aim of using it in seeking the joy which will be permanent. Hence it is that we have here in everyone of our daily activities, from the very act of clothing and taking food to the posture even of taking rest, a series of principle-inlaid directions. Our Śāstras are replete with such things for man's safety and sustenance through life. When we are confronted by the violent changes that have engulfed us today, there is absolutely no point, we feel, in

tracing these old rules, one by one, or trying to adopt them in the present-day circumstances.

The amplifiers resound from street corners singing the praise of man's progress. The unthinking are likely to be easily taken up with all the wonderful results of science and the so-called progressive thought. We know, for example, that a particular thought is prevalent among mankind that only after religion began to envelop man that he became refined in habits and began to respect his conscience as an evident sign of a higher life. But we forget that this very same religion sometimes makes man lose all sense of decency and propriety in his zest to champion a particular dogma or creed or philosophic concept and enter into a fray of bloodshed. If civilization should seek to reinstate itself in the concept of religious sectarianism, better not call it by the name of a religion.

We are sure that if real refinement were to dwell in any one, he cannot be influenced by the power of mere wealth or position. The true civilization of his heart will enable him to deem the entire world as one and undivided. Indeed, it is a matter for surprise that truth persists even today amidst so much of untruth, amidst so many racial intolerances on the ground of mere colour and rank as well as so many economic inequalities between man and man. We are sure that where the human face ever wears a benign smile, there dwells genuine refinement of the soul. We can without a demur point out the unfailing glow of civilization where the heart makes no distinction of man from man or demarcates the fortunate from the unfortunate in life.

Furthermore, those who distinguish ancient from modern civilization are not really taking into acount an unchanging element in the depths, while mistaking the billows on the surface as denoting the entire substance of it. It is not right also to decipher inequalities by the mere differences in habits due to climatic conditions or historic origins. Once, a well-known statesman explained the reason for the discrimination of Westerners in South Africa against Indian settlers. He said that the main hindrance to the Indians there having equal rights with Europeans had been their poor standards of living. When asked by an important person in the audience what exactly 'better standards' meant, the speaker got ruffled a bit and said that Europeans could hardly tolerate per-

sons who raised their clothes knee-high and chatted on street-pials unconscious of their indecency. Instantaneously came the sharp reply from the undefeated questioner: "Is it so? I see now; it is perhaps decency then in those who sit on the marina in their open cars raising their sleeveless arms exposing them up to the arm-pits." He referred evidently to the way of dressing of some of the modern women.

But what both the contestants in the heated arguments forgot is that such habits as were referred to by them cannot at all be the true marks of what we term civilization or no civilization. One who bathes twice daily may feel that a person who bathes, once in a couple of days, as a barbarian. Again, if a person after having received any the slight benefit from another forgets to express a 'thank you', he is sure to be considered a boor by certain others. Really when we wish to know whether these alone exhaust our conceptions of civilization, we can forthwith give our answer in the nagative. We can say with even a bit of assertion that he who denies himself that which he loves to possess can alone be said to have touched the hallmark of civilization. We call a country civilized where people have learnt to recognise the principle of renunciation as a normal Dharma.

The poet Rabindranath Tagore has given a beautiful incident to illustrate the point. Once he left in a motor car with a few friends for places outside Calcutta. In a place where there could be no water, the car stopped getting over-heated. A peasant who was walking on the road, finding their need for water for the radiator, went a good distance and drew water from a deep well and brought it to them in a vessel. When thus water was obtained, the joy of the inmates of the car knew no bounds. One of them stretched out a silver rupee to the peasant in utter gratitude for his help. Strangely the poor fellow refused to take it. When pressed again and again to accept it, he said with real surprise: 'Masters! is'nt it a sin to take money for water? Will I be doing my Dharma in accepting it?'

Judged by the economic laws of supply and demand, there is no violation of just principle in accepting money that was offered, as price for water at a place where it was scarce. Further, it will be treated as a case of even folly not to have made money when circumstances favoured the making of it. Still there is a some-

thing in the denial which eternally whispers in our ears that he who resists a desire just when it could be satisfied easily, and does not stop there but makes Dharma his prime motive for such determination, certainly he is more cultured. Undoubtedly the civilization which the country-peasant possessed will be foreign to the normal inhabitants of towns. We wonder then why civilization should have anything to do at all for its origin in the word 'nagara' or town?

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

BY

DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO

Human life, its problems, its significance and the art and wisdom necessary for living a fruitful life towards the realisation of the complete potentialities of men, are not disclosed at a superficial view of human life. Life is the gift of Nature, but beautiful living is the gift of wisdom. Reflective thought in man teases him, and the ache is got over only by obtaining a philosophy of life. It is an intellectual understanding of the meaning of life, in the first stage. Among the different reflective activities of men, science stands out in all splendour. It occupies the centre of the stage. It is one of the greatest achievements, the noblest activity, and has given us boundless opportunities to lessen our drudgery and to add to our material comforts. It has flooded the world with its marvels. Its gadgets are what we have stood admiring all the time. Its spectacular achievement in the modern world in association with technology has led some to believe "that science is the very type and touchstone of all other sorts of knowledge" and the excellence of any discipline is judged by the degree to which it aspires to the condition of science. The worship of science has come to stay as the religion of our times.

We owe to the scientists all the comforts and pleasures of our life. It is churlish and ungrateful to deny them, the honour for making our life enjoyable, through the advancement of science. The nature of scientific knowledge is instrumental in its essence. It is the knowledge, that is at the back of and which provides the basis of technological advance. The correctness of scientific theory is judged by the evidence of its technological efficiency. The scientific attitude is primarily *objective,* and it seeks to diminish the emotional factors indefinitely, though it cannot totally abolish them. It permits of no explanation in terms of *intentions* or *purposes.* It is the study of the *Facts* and not *Values.*

The appeal of science arises from its answers to our practical needs. We, for the most part of our life, live in our activities and are agents of acts. In our activities we do not know enough to command success and our failure to use the world around us for our works, takes on to technology and science. The success of technology gives us power. Power is the key to all our activities and is the means to all our ends.

Scientific achievement and technological efficiency have emancipated man from the precarious life of a nomad and ensured his survival from the threats of a non-human environment.

The limitations of the scientific outlook have not been lost sight of. Science should not be let out of its bounds or in the language of logic, out of its 'universe of discourse'. It cannot gives us the knowledge of the Ends of life. It looks upon all the things of the world, including "men and women" as objects, i.e. determinable, in terms of mechanical dimensions or biological units. The scientist seeks to manipulate men's minds as their bodies, by their stupendous powers of organisation and makes inroads into the creativity of man for which freedom is necessary. No progress is possible without creativity and mere cohesion of things is not enough. Progress implies cohesion and creative advance. Further, science has put in the hands of men tremendous powers of *life* and *death,* e.g. the alarming nuclear power, but it does tell us how to use it for the good of humanity. It is morally neutral. It produces on the one hand sulphonamide drugs and on the other poison gas, missiles and does not bother to teach us the proper use of its achievements. It is empirical and pragmatic in its attitude to things. It is silent at best about transempirical values e.g. God, Truth, morality and other values. It takes into its orbit the study of one abstracted aspect of Reality, the aspect which is calculable, measurable, weighable. It is innocent about the *imponderables,* for reality and existence are not accessible to the scientific instruments or methods e.g. observation, experimentation, or analysis. Science is exclusively intellectual. When other disciplines of thought, with different methods, are presented like Religion, Philosophy and art, they are said to conflict with science and are incompatible with it. Then the verdict is if religion is incompatible with science, then, it is religion and not science

which must go. Science has for its subject matter a partial aspect of Reality, abstracted from the whole, the aspect which is amenable to its methodology.

Science is necessary, but is not enough or sufficient. We need other factors for men to live in peace and nations in harmony. The Russian mystic Gurdjieff describes the inner state of man's mind. "The inner state of man is like a house in which there is no master, nor any other individual capable of controlling the rabble of servants that is running it. All of the servants claim to be the rightful owners of the house and as a result of this the house is usually in the greatest disorder, the servants being in the wrong places and doing the wrong work. The cook is in the garden, the gardeners in the kitchen and the butler in the stable, and whenever a caller rings the front-door bell and asks to see the master, the servant who happens to be nearest to it opens the door and replies that he is the rightful owner of the house."[1]

This graphic analogy discloses the need for men to achieve an integration at all levels—an integration with Nature. This is achieved with the help of science and technology. The other two integrations he has to achieve are (1) integration with his fellowmen, among whom he has to live in peace and co-operation and (2) the great integration of one's self with his warring members, in the shape of wild emotions, cussedness and selfishness, mean motives and humiliating weaknesses. The two integrations cannot be effected without the discipline of a sound religion and a humane philosophy.

One can fondly imagine that he can live his or her life with a sound commonsense, and not unduly bother about the spiritual longings. One might feel that he need not vex his soul with impossible longings and unwise suppressions. One might counsel us in commonsense, to do everything a little, and nothing over much and assure us that we will be happy. Develop every side of your nature. Give your mind, body and your soul free and equal play, work, sleep, eat, drink, think, smoke and make love, lose your temper on occasions but not too often, indulge in your senses, but not too much, worship but do not abase yourself before

1. Quoted by Kenneth Walker in his book, *The Conscious Mind.*

God, help your neighbours but do not prefer him to your own self, take every pleasure as it comes, but take care to desist before you have had enough, hold any belief that attracts you, but never to the point of being ready to die for it.

Mere physical comfort and animal health will not enable one to overcome the tensions and the aches of his heart. Indulgence will lull for a time our appetites only to re-emerge with redoubled vigour. There is the necessity to exert a control over them. The crisis in the human civilization today is the result of the absence both of internal and external restraints. Living as we like or as the senses direct is the malady of the age. Sorokin writes in his book *The Crisis of our age* (p. 311): "We have seen the modern sensate culture enlarged with the major belief that true reality and true value were mainly or exclusively sensory. Anything that was super-sensory lives either doubtful or being imperceivable by the senses amounted to non-existence. Its first positive fruit is an unprecedented development of Natural sciences and technological inventions. The first poisonous fruit is a fatal advancement of science in the field of its technological applications which has produced what is described by Sorokin as the sensate culture. "Sensate culture narrows down the horizon of Man's destiny in his present life in the earth and to the full and fruitful exercises of his senses for the gratification of his physical and biological needs." Mere physical living and the vital enjoyment of animal lusts do not give peace to men's minds. Man does not live by bread alone, he hungers to know his destiny and place in the universe. Imaginative vigour and reflective thought, tease man with the wearing out of the vigour of sense organs. Science no doubt places in the hands of men immense instruments for their comfort. The uncertainty of human life and the horrors of death add to the fears of man. Man feels that he is living in a universe which has no meaning and see the only destiny for him is in being swallowed by death.

Scientific knowledge has given us not only power to manipulate physical nature but also the techniques to manipulate the minds of men and recreate them in the image of a machine. Power is in its essence morally neutral. It is *a-moral*. There is always the possibilities of its being misused, spelling the destruction of not this or that nation but the extermination of entire

humanity. Power cannot set itself into action and that has to be done by the human agent. Man has to precribe the proper ends for power to work. This involves not only the knowledge of Ends that are ethical, but also the firm resolve to harness powers to secure those ends and in the enterprise to withstand the temptation to use power for selfish and non-ethical ends. It involves an integral education and discipline. The knowledge of the Ends, the preference of the right ends, and the will to put them into action, all are necessary. Without them we cannot establish the proper relationships between science and organisation on the one hand and the human values on the other. We need faith in the values of Truth, love and non-violence; our behaviour is the product of our beliefs and faith. If we merely believe in the physical and biological nature of man our values would be nothing more than Might and cunning. With the alarming developments of the nuclear weapon and the rudimentary development of emotions of men in charge of it, one fears that in one of the fatal hours we may destroy ourselves, our civilization which we have taken centuries to create and develop to its present state.

The life of men living in the shadow of a *sensate culture* does not permit itself to complete development of the potentialities of men. It gives reins to the executive in man and muffles the voices of the *ethical* and the *contemplative* in men; with the result we have a tribe of *rājasic men,* full of vigour and verve without wisdom. The typical man of sensate culture believes in this life and its tangible ends and distrusts all trans-empirical values such as God, immortality, Truth, Dharma etc. He banishes reflections from life and its ends as speculative non-sense and waste of time. Violent, active, and aggressive life he lives in the pursuit of power, wealth and energy, elbowing out his fellow rivals and seeking all the time to dominate them. He is restlessly active doing something. Peace and quiet are distilled to him. He believes in restlessness and loves to titillate himself with excitement from spoils of war and violence. All the time he is self-assertive and dogmatic seeking to dominate others and exploit the weak. Their gods are industrial progress and military prowess. Men under the domain of sensate culture do not care to discipline the minds or their appetites. They are just impulsive and do not believe in any type of restraint or inhibitions. They are best described as huge animals.

The qualities that we acquire in a sensate culture do not help us to establish or build an integrated personality. Without self-integration we do not acquire the necessary faith nor the power of will or code of conduct which is required of us to establish just society where all can cooperate on a basis of equality with perfect freedom for individual development. This faith must burn into our hearts and percolate in our being. The unity of existence, the brotherhood of man and the dignity and the divinity of men are ideals that can help us to build a happy just social order.

The process of self-integration has to be effected with intense moral discipline. We have to work hard to overcome the ape in us, which infests us with its lusts and afflictions. We have to liberate the divine essence in us to integrate ourselves. Before the moral discipline we should have a firm faith in the general truth of religion about the unity of existence and the spiritual nature of men. It is such a faith that can enable us to integrate ourselves. It is again such a sound faith that can energise us to establish a new social order which is economically just, politically sound and aesthetically beautiful. The realisation of the fundamental divine value of all existence alone can make us experience the fellowship of faith. Once the truth of the fellowship of all dawns on us, all our narrowness breaks down and the vision is returned and we find we feel with Gandhiji "there cannot be happiness for any of us until it is won for all."

The two integrations referred to namely (1) the integration of man with our own conflicting passions and (2) the integration with fellowmen in society, are to be achieved by faith in religious values and moral truths. If we believe in absurd things we do atrocious activities. Things first happen in the mind before they happen in the body. The malady of the individual neurosis and social confusion and international anarchy cannot be cured by science and technology. Not only are they unable to cure the disease, but they add to the trouble. It is the discipline of a rational and humane religion that can cure them. Religion is the art of the inward life of man. It teaches men through the instrument of morality to effect changes in their personality and through the grace of God, to incorporate moral values in human society. Religion makes for unity and brotherhood of men. It binds men and is never a barrier. It gives the total view of things and makes

us realise the essential nature of man. Hence, man needs science and religion for integrating himself with his own divided self and society at large. All the three integrations help men to be happy and peaceful. The first enables him to subdue physical nature and harness her powers to give him comfort. The second and third enable him to overcome self-division and establish a just social order for all to grow to their best. The role of philosophy as a reflective discipline comes in to correct our prejudices and dogmatic cocksureness about any single discipline. It encourages men's critical faculty which prevents us from becoming victims of demagogues and propagandists. Philosophy helps us to examine our belief in the light of reason. It has a purifying effect on human faith and life. Philosophy is examined belief. Religion is lived morality. All the three disciplines science, morality and religion are equally necessary for men to live their life and realise their grand destiny.

THE UPEYA-NĀMA-VIVEKA OF UPANISHADBRAHMAYOGIN

BY

N. RAGHUNATHAN

The *Nāmārtha-Viveka* of this well-known commentator on the 108 Upanishads, with the commentary *Upeya-Nāma-Viveka* by the author himself, which has been edited by Dr. V. Raghavan with an illuminating historical and critical Introduction in English, is a very interesting addition to the extant Nāma-Siddhānta literature. Upanishad Brahmendra was a mid-nineteenth century pontiff of an Advaita Math at Kanchi. He was an elder contemporary of Śrī Tyāgarāja, the great composer and mystic. He must have been fully familiar with the writings of Śrī Bodhendra and Ayyāvāḷ on the potency of Bhagavan-nāma. Incidentally, the following (untraced) *śloka* quoted on p. 37 of this work is found cited in Bodhendra's *Nāmāmṛta-ṛasodaya* (sixth Ullāsa p. 81), without mention of source :

visṛjya lajjām yo adhīte
mannāmāni nirantaram |
kula-koṭi-samāyukto
labhate māmakam padam ||

In this Prakaraṇa of 87 *anuṣṭubh* verses and the lucid commentary he has attached to it, Upanishad Brahmendra not only claims for Rāma-nāma a power greater than that possessed by any other of the glorious Names of the Lord in His many *avatāras*, but he represents it as both the means (upāya) and the end (upeya) of the discipline of Nāma-smaraṇa. He describes the four stages of the discipline, as well as the consummation in the achievement of Advaitic Brahma-anubhava and what he calls *Videha-mukti*, when the Name itself stands revealed as the luminous Para-Brahman.

While many of the insights he reveals in regard to the potentialities of the Name have been anticipated by earlier writers, as

Dr. Raghavan points out, his schematic presentation of the discipline and his claim that the Name is an end in itself are on the face of it novel. But before trying to see what exactly these claims mean and how far they are supported by authority, it might be as well to set out the common points between this writer and his predecessors in the field and to examine such singularity of view as he exhibits in the formulation of any of these points.

Upanishad Brahman conforms, as Dr. Raghavan points out, to the Advaitic tradition of Bhakti which, in regard to the adoration of the Name, takes the form of "contemplation of the Lord's Name, whatever it is, and the deity for whom it stands, as being the Brahman which is identical with one's self." His very first verse runs as follows :

Svāvidyāpadatatkārya-jātāropāpavādadhīḥ |
yasmin virāmamagamat tat tripādasmi rāmacit ||

With this may be compared the following invocatory verse in Śrī Bodhendra's *Harihara-advaita-bhūṣaṇa.*

Sadānandātmane sarvasargasthityanta-kāriṇe |
sarvāntaryāmi-rūpāya śrīrāmāyātmane namaḥ ||

Śrī Bodhendra equates Rāma with the *Bimba-caitanya.* To him Rāma is Śrīśa-gaurīśvarābhinnaḥ (not different from Viṣṇu or Śiva). Upanishad Brahmendra equates *Rāma-Nāma-cit,* the goal, with the *Nirviśeṣa* Para-brahman Itself. Borrowing the terminology of the *Tejobindu Upanishad,* he speaks of 'Vikalebara-kaivalya' or 'Videha-mukti', and says that it is as that consummation that the Name is realised in this very life itself, "in the final birth or last embodied state" (to quote Dr. Raghavan's summary). In his commentary on that Upanishad he construes 'Videha-mukti' thus:

dehatrayopalakṣita-svāvidyāpadatatkāryajāte
ātmātmīyamatimūlabhūtā vigatāśca dehāśca
videhāh, videhā eva vaidehāḥ, te asya
santīti vaidehī.

On the analogy of the Praṇava-upāsana in the *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad,* Upanishad Brahmendra distinguishes four stages in which the Name is to be cultivated in more and more refined and subtle

forms — by chanting it while meditating on Rāma successively as the *abhimāni-devatā* of the *sthūlāṁśa* or *Vairāja*, the *sūkṣmāṁśa* or *Hiraṇyagarbha*, the *bījāṁśa* (Īśvara) or *Prājña*, and the *Turīya*. The third and the fourth correspond to the *Bimba-caitanya* and the *Śākṣi-caitanya* (to use the terminology familiar to readers of Bodhendra). Upanishad Brahmendra would describe the latter, equated with the *Pratyag-abhinnam Brahma*, by the term Rāma. But he insists that at the *upeya* stage 'Rama' ceases to be the name of a deity and becomes the Nirviśeṣa Brahman, the goal.

But the *Sarva-sākṣi-caitanya*, the substratum of all that is, (Upanishad Brahmendra defines it as Cit qualified by Māyā in the state of equilibrium) is beyond the realm of name and form, and the propriety of applying a particular name to it is debatable. Much more so seems the assumption that the Nirviśeṣa Parabrahman could be spoken of as *Nāma-cit;* if the name could be regarded as endowed with consciousness at that stage and as something identifiable, would that not militate against the fundamental assumption of the unity of the Brahman?

But Upanishad Brahmendra affirms as energetically as any other expounder of the doctrine, that without the *upāsana* of the Saguṇa Brahman it is impossible to realise the Nirguṇa :

> Nigṛhītakaraṇagrāmair manīṣibhirapi
> paramopāyabhūta-śabda-brahmopāsanām
> vinā svāvidyāpada-tatkāryāpanhava-
> prādurbhūta-nirviśeṣatvena prasiddhopeya-
> cinmātram prāptum na śakyam.

In regard to the capacity of the Divine Name to destroy accumulated sins, to eradicate *vāsanās* and to confer *mukti*, he is as categorical.

Upanishad Brahmendra claims a special status for Rāma Nāma as the *tārakamantra* par excellence. While the *Rāma-tāpinī* and the *Rāma-rahasya* Upaniṣads support this claim, the *Atharvaśiras*, the *Gopāla-tāpinī*, and *Nṛsiṁha-tāpinī* Upaniṣads make the same analogous claims for the name of Śiva, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma Upanishad Brahmendra advances the rather ingenious argument that the Śiva and Nārāyaṇa *mantras* would lose their potency and might even become inauspicious if the vital syllables *ma* and *ra* respectively were omitted from them. But this argument does not avail

against the names Nṛsiṁha or Kṛṣṇa. In his *Bhedadhikkāra*, Nṛsimhāśramasvāmī shows, according to Bodhendra, that the name Nṛsiṁha stands for *Jīva-Īśvara-aikya*:

> nṛsiṁha iti nāmaiva jīveśvara-aikya-bodhane
> pramāṇam; N. R. VI 192.

Not only Rāma Nāma, which as the predecessors of Upanishad Brahmendra pointed out before him, stands for the *Tat-tvam-asi* equation but for Kṛṣṇa-nāma also the same claim is advanced in the following verse:

> Kṛṣirbhūvācakaś śabdaḥ ṇaśca nirvṛti-vācakaḥ |
> Tayor aikyam Param Brahma Kṛṣṇa ityabhidhīyate ||

Indeed all names of Viṣṇu and Śiva are regarded as standing for the Para-Brahman, on the authority of the *Viṣṇu Dharmottara* statement quoted in the *Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*. The Nāma-Siddhānta is resolutely opposed to accepting anything like a hierarchy of names, though it concedes the lawfulness of each man devoting himself to the name of the deity of his choice, provided he does not cry down others. Upanishad Brahmendra was undoubtedly a great *bhakta* as his *Divya-nāma-saṅkīrtanas* show. He believed in the efficacy of the Divine Name as a universal uplifter; the *adhikārins*, as the present work points out, are the whole of humanity irrespective of *varṇa* or *āśrama* — (verses 22 to 24 and commentary). It is the more surprising that he should have prescribed such an elaborate and intellectualised discipline for the utilisation of the Name as a means of salvation. The *Sahasranāma Bhāṣya* makes it a special point in favour of Nāma-japa that it requires neither guru nor special *adhikāra*: see Bodhendra's *Nāmāmṛta-rasāyana*, pp. 15-16. But Upanishad Brahmendra's four-stage discipline is said to be graded to meet the needs of different classes, according to the different degrees of their "antaḥ-karaṇa-mālinya-doṣa". This goes against the almost universal opinion that simple and sustained Nāma-japa is sufficient to wipe out the heinous sins of unnumbered births.

It is clear that in his eclectic approach Upanishad Brahman was influenced not only by the *upāsanas* prescribed in the major Upaniṣads but even more by those described in some of the minor Upaniṣads, especially those that show the influence of the Āgamas,

with their use of *mantras* and *yantras* in all their elaboration. Thus the *Rāmatāpinī Upaniṣad* declares:

> brahmādīnām vācako ayam mantro anvarthādi-saṁjñitaḥ |
> japtavyo mantriṇā naivam vinā devaḥ prasīdati ||
> vinā yantreṇa cet pūjā devatā na prasīdati |

While *mantra* has its place in devotion, primarily as a means of enabling the devotee to attune himself with his deity, *Mantra Śāstra* proper aims at mobilising power, especially the power which is latent in the human body and with which the deity is identified. Thus Upanishad Brahmendra, while outlining the practice of *upāya-nāma* on the model of the Praṇava-upāsanā, emphasises that the Nāma should not be regarded as a *pratīka*, a mere support for contemplation, but that it should be looked upon as identical with the Supreme deity; in this he has taken the cue from the Sphoṭa-vādins, as Dr. Raghavan points out. The Sphoṭa doctrine is applied with logical rigour by the Āgama-vādins, especially the followers of the Śākta tantra who seek to establish that the Brahman is in the ultimate instance both Śakti and Śaktimān and that *Śabda* and *Artha* are eternal co-ordinates. Incidentally Upanishad Brahmendra's attempt to distinguish between the fourth stage of the *upāya-nāma* discipline and the final state of *upeya-nāma* realisation in spite of the admitted fact that both are states of Advaitic consciousness (see commentary on verse 86) may have been influenced by the positing by some Śāktas (see Sir John Woodroffe's *The Serpent Power*, p. 81) "of a fifth state 'beyond the fourth' (*Turīyātīta*) which is attained through firmness in the fourth .... Passing beyond, the 'spotless one attains the highest equality' and is merged in the Supreme Śiva." (The contents of Upaniṣhad Brahmendra's work on the Vedānta Sūtras, as indicated in Dr. Raghavan's paper on him in *Preceptors of Advaita*, p. 331 would seem to support this).

But it is central to the Nāma-siddhānta philosophy that, however much we might exalt the Nāma, we must not forget the referent, the Nāmin, from whom the Nāma derives its significance and for acting as an 'Open Sesame' to Whose grace it is prized. Nāma-siddhāntins belong to different philosophical persuasions. The Advaitins among them hold that the Name wins for the devotee the favour of the Lord, and by His Grace he attains the liberating knowledge that is *mokṣa*. Thus in *Nāmāmṛta-rasodaya* Bodhendra

says that by the constant practice of Nāma-japa along with meditation on the Saguṇa Brahman on the Name itself comes Sādhana Sampatti, and the aspirant may then attain Sākṣātkāra through Śravaṇa, Manana and so on; or by persevering in the path of whole-hearted devotion to the Name, he may gain by the grace of the Lord insight into the Vedānta mahāvākya (vedāntamahāvākyamāvirbhavati) and thus achieve liberation (p. 192). Other schools, like the Caitanya Sampradāya, identify the Supreme Brahman with the Bhagavān. There are Advaitins, again, who regard Bhakti and Jñāna as alternative means to the Supreme Goal. Anantadeva in his *Bhakti-Nirṇaya* traces this parallel route:

> śravaṇakīrtanādisādhanabhakteranuvṛttau bhagavati parama-prema-laksaṇānurāgātmikā phalabhaktiḥ paramapremāspada-bhagavanmūrti-sphūrtiśca jāyate | tataśca dehagehādau viraktasya bhagavatprasādāt tattvasākṣātkārodaye muktiriti.

Quoting the Bhagavad-Gītā verse,

> bhaktyā mām abhijānāti yāvān yaścāsmī tattvataḥ |
> tato mām tattvato jñātvā viśate tadanantaram ||

he comments on it thus:

> madbhaktasya anuraktasya madanusmaraṇavataḥ pumso ata eva tattvajñānam bhavatītyāha-tato mām tattvato jñātvā iti | tata iti tacchabdena pūrvamabhijānāti samatvena māmiti nirdiṣṭaḥ pradhānabhūtaḥ paramātmā nirdiśyate | .... 'viśate tadanantaram' iti tacchabdena napuṁsakena tattvam nirdiśyate | anantaram avyavahitam ityarthaḥ || (B.N. p. 36)

"Knowing from Me Who I really am, My devotee attains That (the Brahman: neuter) simultaneously." To the objection that while the way of Bhakti might be an independent way, there can be no *mukti* without Jñāna, and that Jñāna cannot be had without meditation on the Vedānta-vākya, Anantadeva suggests, among other possible answers, the effectiveness of the Name itself as a substitute for the Vedānta-vākya:

> krṣṇādināmaiva tattvasākṣātkāre karaṇam śravaṇādiparipāke vedāntavākyamiva | (B.N. pp. 43-4)

And Upanishad Brahmendra himself says much the same thing when commenting on his 27th verse. But the commentary on

verses 82 to 84 as well as that on verse 7 shows how strongly his prepossession in favour of Jñāna as the sole means of final release pulls him the other way.

However that may be, all Advaiti-bhaktas emphasise the paramount importance of securing the Grace of the Lord by disinterested love as the sole means of attaining the saving knowledge. The *Jīvan-muktas* who have realised the Para-Brahman continue to derive supreme delight from singing the names and the glorious qualities of the Lord, says the *Bhāgavata*. In other words, the *sādhana-bhakti*, through which they won *mukti*, has now become *phala-bhakti*. It is called *upeya-bhakti* because it points to no end outside itself. Upanishad Brahmendra too is vividly conscious of the emotional nature of *bhakti;* he would even attribute infinite compassion to the impersonal *Sākṣi-caitanyam*:

svabhāvataḥ sarvadodāsīna-svabhāvamapi svānanya-bhaktāvalyavana-karmaṇi nityam dīkṣitam ||

But in his use of the term *upeya* in connection with the Divine Name there is a certain ambiguity. The Name is not something objective and self-sufficient, as his treatment of the matter at times suggests. The devotee delights in it because it opens up to him as in a flash vista upon vista of the auspicious attributes of the Lord; as the Bhāgavata pointedly put it,

yatastadviṣayā matiḥ |

So, while it is legitimate to speak of the Lord Himself as both *upāya* and *upeya*, as some of the minor Upaniṣads do, it would not be correct to speak of the Nāma as *upeya* if we think of it as something other than the Lord—even if it be no less than His double (*alter ego*)—and it would be merely tautological to do so if it is meant to be taken as nothing more than the *vācaka* of the *vācya* that is the Lord.

Even the Caitanya school do not give the Name an independent status, though they speak, in terms reminiscent of Sphoṭa-vāda, of a *varṇa-avatāra* of the Lord. Thus in the *Hari-bhakti-Rasāmṛta-sindhu*, the following Bhāgavata verse is quoted:

etannirvidyamānānām icchatāmakutobhayam |
yoginām nṛpa nirṇītam Harer nāmānukīrtanam ||

and Rūpa Gosvāmī, in his own gloss, renders 'yoginām' as 'muktānām' and points out that even for them the Name is the sanctuary, being both *sādhana* and *sādhya*. But what this means precisely is brought out by the commentary on a verse which Dr. Raghavan quotes from the *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* in support of the same view. The commentary raises the question:

> "nanu sarveṣāmapi sādhanabhaktiprakārāṇām premaiva phalamityabhipretam?"

and answers it thus:

> satyam, nāmasaṁkīrtane sati premṇo avaśyam bhāvitvā-*dupacāreṇa* tadeva phalam manyata ityāhuḥ ||

In other words, the Nāma is by courtesy called *phala*, because the real *phala*, love of the Lord, is the invariable concomitant of the utterance of the Name. Utpaladeva, the great expotent of Kashmir Śaivism, expresses the same idea in the following verse of his 'Autsukya-viśvasita-stotra':

> kimiva ca labhyate bata na tairapi janaiḥ
> kṣaṇamapi kaitavādapi ca ye tava nāmni ratāḥ |
> śiśira-mayūkha-śekhara tathā kuru yena mama
> kṣata-maraṇo aṇimādikamupaimi yathā-vibhavam ||

The operative words mean, "What is there that those who utter Thy name even for a moment and, that too, with ulterior reasons, do not obtain? How much more should they have their wishes fulfilled, who love Thee always?"

No doubt, with these considerations regarding the Nāma-Nāmin relationship in view, Dr. Raghavan suggests, towards the close of his Introduction, that by speaking of the Nāma as *upeya*, Upanishad Brahman probably meant nothing more than what the Bhāgavata does, when it says that liberated souls for ever serve God and sing His praise in the spirit of *ahaitukī-bhakti* (I-7-10 & 11-1-7).

RAMANUJA AND 'PRAPATTI'

BY

M. R. SAMPATKUMARAN, M.A.

Tradition attributes nine works to Rāmānuja. Of these five are concerned with the exposition of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Vedānta-sūtras* or the *Bhagavadgītā*. There are three commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtras* of varying length — the *Vedānta-sāra*, the *Vedānta-dīpa* and the *Śrībhāṣya*. The *Vedārtha-saṅgraha* is an independent survey of the teachings of the *Upaniṣads*. Then we have the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. As regards the other four, three are *gadyas* — prose hymns — and one is a manual of daily worship. The hymns are named as dealing with *śaraṇāgati*, Śrīraṅga and Vaikuṇṭha. The manual is called *Nitya*.

In recent years, doubts have been raised about Rāmānuja's authorship of five of these works.[1] These comprise the three *gadyas*, *Nitya* and *Vedānta-sāra*. The arguments questioning the authenticity as Rāmānuja's works of the *gadyas* and *Nitya* are of more than mere academic interest, for they assume a dichotomy in fundamentals between them and the *Śrībhāṣya*, the *Vedānta-dīpa* and the *Vedārtha-saṅgraha*. As regards the *Vedānta-sāra*, it matters little whether Rāmānuja wrote it or some pupil of his, or a later teacher prepared it as an elementary guide to the interpretation of the *Vedānta-sūtras* according to Viśiṣṭādvaita.

The main difference noticed between the *gadyas* and the classical works of Rāmānuja is the stress laid by the former on *prapatti*. The word is equated with *śaraṇāgati*, and stands for seeking refuge with God. This is differentiated from *bhakti* or devotion to and loving meditation on God which is taught in his other works. The point at issue gains additional importance in that the professed followers of Rāmānuja today concentrate their

1. For example, see Dr. J. A. B. van Buitenen's introductions to 'Rāmānuja on the *Bhagavadgītā*' and '*Vedārthasaṅgraha*'.

attention on *prapatti* almost to the complete exclusion of *bhakti*. It may be asked whether the later teachers of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas proclaimed a new dispensation not sanctioned by Rāmānuja. All the schools of *Vedānta* believe in God (or the *Brahman*) as the highest goal of all human effort. But, even as their views about the nature of the *Brahman* are divergent, their choice of the means for reaching this goal is varied. The *Bhagavadgītā* has familiarised the student of Indian thought with the three means of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti*. One of these singly, or in dominant or equal association with either or both of the others, is selected as the means, in accordance with the philosophical tenets of each school of thought. The teaching of *prapatti* seems to add a fourth to the ways of attainment already recognised.

Now there is no doubt at all that Rāmānuja teaches *bhakti* as the means for attaining salvation in his commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā* and in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. For example at the beginning of the *Śrībhāṣya*, he writes: "Therefore, the *vedana* (or knowledge) which it is desired to enjoin as a means of obtaining final release, has to be understood in the sense of *upāsana* (or worship)." Such worship consists of *dhyāna* (or meditation) "which is of the form of a succession of memories (or remembrances) which is unbroken like a stream of oil." Again: "He alone, to whom this memory of the form of direct perception is of itself inexpressibly dear, by reason of the inexpressible dearness of the object of that memory — (he alone) is fit to be chosen by the Highest Self: and so, by him alone is the Highest Self attainable."[2]

At the end of the *Śrībhāṣya*, the same teaching is summed up and reinforced: "Just as it is made out from the scriptures that there exists the Supreme Person, who is hostile to all evil and is the home of all auspiciousness, who is the cause of the origin etc. of the world, who is entirely distinct from all other things, who is omniscient, who wills the truth, who is the sole ocean of parental affection for those who resort to Him, who is possessed of the highest mercy, who has dispelled the possibility of there being any

2. The *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, translated into English by M. Rangacharya and M. B. Varadaraja Iyengar, Madras, 1961 edition, Vol. I, p. 16, p. 17 and p. 18.

one superior or equal to Him and whose name is the Supreme *Brahman;* similarly, it is also made out from the scriptures themselves that, pleased with His worship which consists of meditating on Him and is helped on by the duties of castes and stages of life as practised day by day, He removes the ignorance of the worshippers which consists of the sum of the *karmas* which have begun (to accumulate) from beginningless time and which are infinite in number and difficult to overcome; then He causes them to attain that bliss which is boundless and unsurpassed in excellence and which consists of experiencing Him as He is in reality; and He does not cause them to return (to this world)."[3]

Similarly, towards the end of the *Vedārtha-saṅgraha,* Rāmānuja observes: "The means of attaining the *Brahman* has already been stated above to be that supreme loving devotion (unto Him) which is capable of being acquired through the practice of the loving devotion that is assisted by the performance of one's own duties in association with the knowledge of truth, as learnt from the *śāstras,* which (supreme loving devotion) has the nature of continued meditation and has attained to the condition of the clearest direct perception that is inexpressibly dear."[4]

So, too, in the introductory portion of his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā,* we have: "And under the pretext of removing the burden of the earth, (but really) for the purpose of becoming the object of refuge even to (unworthy) people like us, He descended to the earth and made Himself visible to the eyes of all men; having done such divine acts as ravished the minds and eyes of all men, high and low... having refreshed the entire universe with the nectar of His looks and words pregnant with boundless compassion, friendliness and love...under the pretext of encouraging the son of Pāṇḍu to fight, He promulgated the way of realisation through love (or *bhakti-yoga*) which is fostered by the ways of knowledge and works (or *jñāna-yoga* and *karma-yoga*), which has Himself for its object and which is declared in the *Vedānta* as the means for the attainment of the emancipation of the soul, the highest of human ends."[5]

3. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, pp. 562-3.
4. Translation by M. B. Varadaraja Iyengar, *Brahmavādin,* Vol. XVII, p. 681.
5. Translated by the present writer.

It is not as if Rāmānuja had been a stranger to the concept of *prapatti*. In his earliest work, the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, he declares: "The heart of all the *śāstras* here is this....The freedom of these (individual selves) does not appropriately result except through their faithfully surrendering themselves unto God.....By means of the passage, 'For this *māyā* of Mine, made of the three *guṇas* for purposes of play, is difficult to get over. Those who surrender themselves wholly unto Me, they transcend this *māyā*' (*Bhagavadgītā*, VII, 14), it is declared that, for this abovementioned individual self, final freedom from *saṁsāra* which is of the nature of contact, on account of *karma*, with the *prakṛti* that is made up of the wonderful qualities (of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*), does not appropriately result except through self-surrender unto the Divine Lord."[6]

In the commentary on the *Gītā* also, Rāmānuja mentions *prapatti* more than once. For instance, under XIV. 27, it is stated: "What is said amounts to this. Earlier ... it has been taught that seeking refuge with the Lord is the only means for transcendence over the *guṇas* and the attainment therefrom of *kaivalya*, supramundane glory and union with the Lord. Therefore, the sole means for transcendence over the *guṇas* and for the condition of the essential nature of the self attainable therefrom is seeking refuge with the Lord with singleness of purpose."[7] Again, while explaining the recommendation for *prapatti* in XV.4, Rāmānuja refers to the tradition of *prapatti* from the distant past among the seekers of salvation.

Even more definite is the emphasis on *prapatti* in the famous verse, XVIII.66, which has engrossed the attention of all later teachers of the school of Rāmānuja. Śrī Kṛṣṇa there asks Arjuna to give up completely all *dharmas* and seek refuge with Him alone. "Grieve not," He says, "I will free you from all sins." Rāmānuja understands the *dharmas* to be given up in two senses. They may stand for the disciplines of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* and giving them up should be taken to mean performing them without desiring their fruits, without feeling possessive about them and attributing the agency thereof to God. Alternatively, *dharmas* may

6. *Op.cit.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 86-7.
7. Translated by the present writer.

refer to the expiatory rites needed for the destruction of the sins obstructing the taking up of *bhakti-yoga.*

It is now clear that Rāmānuja refers to *prapatti* in those works of which his authorship has not been doubted. But it may be asked whether in these stray references he teaches the same doctrine in regard to *prapatti* as in the *gadyas,* or as is found in the works of later teachers of his school. In passages such as those cited above, Rāmānuja appears to be dealing with *prapatti* as an element in *bhakti-yoga.* It may therefore be claimed that the view that, according to Rāmānuja, *bhakti* alone is the means for salvation is not in any way weakened. The question therefore is: Does Rāmānuja teach *prapatti* as an independent means for salvation, or as is sometimes put, does he teach that God alone is the means and that even *prapatti* is brought about by Him?

Here it must be realised that the basis of *prapatti* is that God is both the *upāya* and the *upeya,* the means for attainment and that which is to be attained, both the way and the goal. It is only when man realises his helplessness that he looks upon God as the sole means for salvation. *Prapatti* as an element of *bhakti-yoga* also is based on the same conviction. God is called upon to help the *bhakta* to start his effort or to succeed in it. In the *gadyas* and in the works of later teachers, God is called upon to save, and not merely to help in the practice of a discipline intended to secure redemption.

In the *Śrībhāṣya,* Rāmānuja has pointed out clearly that God is both the *upāya* and the *upeya.* Commenting on the aphorism, *'Upapatteśca'* (III.2.34), Rāmānuja writes that "it is appropriate for the Supreme Person, who is the object of attainment, to be Himself the means of attaining Him. For, according to the passage, 'This Self is not attained either by reflection, or by steady meditation, or by largely 'hearing' the scriptures: whomsoever He chooses, by him alone is He reached; to him this Self reveals His own form' (*Muṇḍ. Up.* III. 2.3), the scripture declares that none else can be the means (of attaining Him than He Himself)."[8]

If God is both the way and the goal, then even *bhakti-yoga* becomes secondary and indirect in its role as the means for

8. *Op.cit.,* Vol. III, 268.

salvation. The conviction about God being the sole direct means leads to the intense faith and self-surrender of *prapatti*. There is no question here of *prapatti* being an element in *bhakti-yoga*. After all, the logic behind *bhakti* is that God will thereby become pleased, and that really God is the means.

The *Śaraṇāgati-gadya* develops fully the concept of God being the sole means of salvation. It is in the form of a prayer uttered by Rāmānuja to the Lord. "Therein", Prof. M. Rangacharya sums up, "oppressed by the weight of his countless sins of commission and omission, he throws himself entirely at the mercy of the Lord, and represents himself to have received an assurance from the Lord to the effect that, out of the abundance of His love, He has forgiven the faults and will receive the suppliant to His bosom in due course."[9] Numerous qualities of the Lord are mentioned — His transcendence as well as His condescension and His being the fountain of boundless mercy and limitless grace. The suppliant's helplessness and unworthiness and insignificance are also stressed. "O Thou to whom the creation, the sustentation and the destruction of the whole universe is a sport — the universe which consists of various wonderful endless things worthy to be enjoyed, of beings that enjoy, of instruments of enjoyment and of scenes of enjoyment, and which is made up of matter, soul and time characterised by entire subserviency to Thy purposes" — here the Lord's transcendence is well brought out. But He is also addressed as: "O Thou ... the vast ocean of infinite mercy, affability, affection, generosity, lordship and beauty; O Thou who, without taking into consideration their peculiarities, formest the refuge of all persons, who art the remover of the sorrows of those that prostrate themselves before Thee and worship Thee, and who art the one ocean of affection to those that are devoted to Thee; ... O Lord of the whole world, O our Lord... O Friend in adversity ... the Refuge of the refugeless." Rāmānuja then goes on to declare: "I having no other refuge take refuge with the pair of Thy lotus-feet."[10] He then prays for forgiveness of sins. The Lord is now represented as giving the assurance that through His mere grace alone all obstructions to redemption are overcome and through His favour

9. 'Lectures on the *Bhagavadgītā*', Madras, 1966 edition, Vol. III, pp. 360-1.
10. Translation by Prof. M. Rangacharya, *Brahmavādin*, Vol. I, p. 221-2.

alone knowledge of His nature and qualities attained, and that in due course he will enter Heaven and become an eternal servant there.

What is explicitly stated at length in the *gadya* is implied or mentioned elsewhere in Rāmānuja's writings. Perhaps there are some details about Heaven or about the qualities of the Lord or about the hindrances to attaining Him or about stages on the way or about the nature of the attainment in Heaven which may appear new. This may be true to some extent. The ladder of *parabhakti-parajñāna-paramabhakti* is implied in the *Gītā*.[11] The concept of eternal service in Heaven is also mentioned in the introduction to the commentary on the *Gītā*. The details given about Heaven and the state of the blessed are from authentic sources — either scriptural texts or those considered by Rāmānuja to have equal authority with them. It may be added that the religious teaching of Rāmānuja is not complete without the *gadyas*, while the philosophic postulates and principles may be fully gathered from his other works.

It must also be pointed out that, in dealing with *prapatti*, Rāmānuja is following an old tradition handed down to him from Nāthamuni and Yāmuna. All the works of these teachers have not come down to us. But from Yāmuna's famous hymn known as the *Stotraratna*, the teaching of the *gadyas* can be seen to be directly derived. Stanza 22 of the hymn runs thus: "I am not diligent in duty and piety, I have not attained self-realisation, I am no devotee at Your lotus-feet. Utterly worthless and having no other refuge, I seek refuge at Your feet, O You who are the Refuge (of all)." Rāmānuja's immediate disciple, Kureśa, says in his *Varadarāja-stava* (83-84): "I have done nothing good, I have done a great deal of evil. I am beyond the region where any virtuous quality can be found. I am enveloped by more than a thousand evil qualities. O Varada, I seek You as the refuge, as

11. *Parabhakti* is considered to be devotion at an early stage. It leads to *parajñāna* which is described as direct vision. This in turn leads to *parama-bhakti*, or supreme devotion, which immediately precedes final emancipation. Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Gītā* (XI. 54 and XVIII. 54-55) keeps this 'ladder' in view, as is made clear by Vedānta Deśika's *Tātparyacandrikā* thereon.

full of overflowing mercy. This statement from me, seeking refuge — even this is not made with sincere deliberation. Thus, if I should become the subject of your (uncaused) mercy, thence alone will there be life for me."[5]

Another point that deserves to be noticed is that the *Śaraṇāgati-gadya* of Rāmānuja has been commented on by Kṛṣṇasūri, Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa and Vedānta Deśika. Kṛṣṇasūri, otherwise known as 'Peria Vāccān Pillai' and 'Vyākhyāna Chakravartin', was a famous commentator on the *Collect of Four Thousand Sacred Hymns* and other important works. He must have been born before the end of the 12th century. Vātsya Varada must have been his younger contemporary, and Sudarśana professed merely to record what he had learnt from his teacher, Vātsya Varada, in the commentary which he called *Śrutaprakāśikā,* the revealer of what has been heard. Vedānta Deśika came later, as he is believed to have flourished between 1268 and 1368. It is difficult to set aside this weighty tradition in favour of a guess of the 20th century.

Later teachers regarded the teachings about *prapatti* as constituting a *rahasya* or mystery. Even in the *Bhagavadgītā, bhakti* and *prapatti* are described as *guhyatama* and *rājaguhya,* the most secret and the royal secret. This suggests that not merely were the teachings regarded as valuable, but also that they were taught only to the deserving few at one time. But Rāmānuja is believed to have made the teachings universal, breaking all the old barriers. He is said to have received instruction in the purport of *Gītā* (XVIII. 66) from Goṣṭhīpūrṇa after visiting him eighteen times, and to have broadcast the teachings immediately afterwards. In two other mysteries, he was taught by Mahāpūrṇa.

The teaching about *prapatti* may thus be regarded in some measure as esoteric, as a precious secret revealed by Rāmānuja to those who had faith in him. The point is not so much that he was unwilling to teach it as that he wished to adapt his teachings to the audience to which they were addressed. The *Śrībhāṣya,* for example, is full of philosophical polemics and is intended for all those who rely on the *Vedas* as authoritative revelation. The universe of discourse is thus fixed for reasoning, quotation and interpretation.

Rāmānuja's controversy is primarily with Śaṅkara's *advaita* and only secondarily with other schools of thought. In regard to ontology, he sums up at first, in his *mahāpūrvapakṣa* ('great objection'), Śaṅkara's views and then proceeds to set out his own conclusions in the *mahāsiddhānta*. In regard to the means for final release, Rāmānuja starts from the position of Śaṅkara that it is *jñāna* or knowledge. He then goes on to argue in his *laghusiddhānta* ('small conclusion'), that it cannot mean the mere syntactical meaning of important sentences like "*Tattvamasi*"[12] but that it is of the nature of loving meditation on the nature and qualities of the Lord.

In the *gadyas* he speaks to his own followers. It is not necessary for him to establish the fundamental reality of God with His attributes or of the self and of the world. And if loving devotion can lead to emancipation, it can only be by pleasing the Lord. Salvation being His gift, self-surrender and complete faith in Him may also induce Him to redeem. Indeed, only such faith is in consonance with the nature and position of the self. All these arguments, implicit in Rāmānuja's writings, are developed by later teachers like Śudarśana, Lokācārya and Vedānta Deśika.

Another important point deserves notice. Amuda, one of the disciples of Kureśa and a contemporary of Rāmānuja, has written a poem of 108 stanzas in Tamil which is included in the *Collect of Four Thousand*. It is in honour of Rāmānuja, who is addressed in every stanza. One significant feature of the poem is that it stresses Rāmānuja's devotion to the *āzhvārs*, the mystics who have sung in Tamil on their experiences of God. All of them teach *prapatti* by precept and example. In stanza 45, the poet surrenders himself at the feet of Rāmānuja in terms which are the same as those which Rāmānuja uses in the *gadya* for taking refuge at the feet of God. Kureśa, in the last stanza of his *Varadarāja-stava*, points out his lineage among *prapannas*. He has taken refuge at the feet of Rāmānuja, who has sought refuge at the feet of Yāmuna: the latter in turn is descended spiritually (as well as physically) from Nāthamuni, who himself is of the spiritual lineage of Parāṅkuśa.

To clinch the argument, as it were, attention may be drawn to the verbal resemblances between the phrases in the *gadyas* and

12. *Ch. Up.* (VI. 7.7.).

those in Rāmānuja's other works. Particularly, the introductory portion of the commentary on the *Gītā* has expressions which are found in the *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*. Elsewhere in that commentary also, as for example, in the concluding section of the ninth chapter, such phrases recur. The suggestion is sometimes made that passages of this kind are later interpolations. This cannot stand any serious examination. For examples may be found in other works of Rāmānuja like the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* and the *Śrībhāṣya*. Towards the close of the former, for instance, we have a long passage descriptive of the Lord's qualities and glory, with scriptural texts quoted to justify the description. In the *Śrībhāṣya*, among many other passages, mention may be made of the commentary on the last aphorism.

It appears as if Rāmānuja had developed a style of his own in describing the perfections of the Lord. The ardour of his devotion made him loth to mention the Lord without referring to His lovable qualities. Almost always, however, the reference to the epithets of the Lord is logically justified by the context. Later teachers of Rāmānuja's school have followed this style and manner in references to the Lord.

Dr. J. A. B. van Buitenen's revised conclusion on the authorship of the *gadyas* may be quoted: "Though formerly I hesitated, there is no valid reason to doubt the authenticity of this little devotional work: perhaps modern scholars are too apt to suspect lyrics that are ascribed to philosophers and to forget that these philosophers were theologians and officiating priests. The songs of St. Thomas Aquinas, whom nobody would suspect of lyrical aspirations on the basis of his philosophical works, furnish an interesting parallel."[13]

There is one point in this argument which I would elaborate a little. Rāmānuja was undoubtedly a theologian as well as a philosopher, and though not an officiating priest at any temple, he was concerned with the management of temples, just as an archbishop is concerned with the management of churches. But his lyrical aspirations were closely linked with his philosophy and practical religion. Having shown the Lord to be full of auspicious

13. Introduction to *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, Poona, 1956, pp. 32-3.

qualities and overflowing with mercy, and the self to be subservient to and utterly dependent on Him, Rāmānuja describes these qualities of the Lord in the *gadyas* and seeks refuge at His feet. This path of faith and self-surrender is, in his view, open to all, irrespective of caste or sex. The other paths to salvation authorised by the scriptures are subject to traditional restrictions on who may adopt them. Rāmānuja's *gadyas* help to make his teachings universal. On them rests the prayer which is chanted in innumerable temples every day: "May the dispensation established by Rāmānuja grow from day to day. May it spread to the ends of the earth! For it seeks the welfare of all men."

AN EPISODE IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

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An episode in the Rāmāyaṇa connected with Sutīkṣṇa's āśrama has been noticed, but not much commented upon. There is a startling freedom of talk and modernity—in material and argument—in the conversation between Sītā and Rāma. The wife asked a serious question on Dharma and conduct. It bespeaks also of the affection between husband and wife. Lakṣmaṇa is silent spectator and audience.

Some of the finest thought and discussion in the history of thought and culture is in the form of dialogue: in Plato, in the Buddhist lore, in the Upaniṣads, in the Bhagavadgītā etc. The questions raised are relevant and searching and the answers summarily given may yet leave aspects of substantive ethical analysis passed by.

Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa on their way to Sutīkṣṇa's āśrama, are met by a number of Vratins. The kinds are interesting:

Vaikhānasā vālakhilyāḥ samprakṣālā marīcipāḥ |
Aśmakuṭṭāśca bahavaḥ patrāhārāśca tāpasāḥ ||
Dantolūkhalinaścaiva tathaivonmajjakāḥ pare |
Gātraśayyā aśayyāśca tathaivābhrāvakāśakāḥ ||
Munayaḥ salilāhārā vāyubhakṣāstathā pare |
Ākāśanilayāścaiva tathā sthaṇḍilaśāyinaḥ ||
Tathordhvavāsino dāntās tathārdrapaṭavāsasaḥ |
Sajapāśca taponityās tathā pañcātaponvitaḥ ||

—indicating varieties of austerity in the pursuit of salvation. All—

Sarve brahmaśriyā juṣṭā dṛḍhayogāḥ samāhitāḥ |

qualifications which should weigh for regard. They had much to say in approaching for relief. The entire Ṛṣi Saṅgha makes the following representation to him:

"You are the Lord of the Ikṣvāku line and are like Maghavān to the Gods. Your fame and prowess are known in all the three worlds. You are dedicated to truth and piety and your Dharma is abundant. It's lucky that you have come here. One who knows the Dharma and as a *dharmavatsala*, you should foster Dharma. We are petitioners: You will kindly bear with us. It is not alone because we are Munis but as a duty—responsibility—cast upon a Kṣatriya king that we invoke in this case, for, the King who receives the sixth part of their produce from his people is liable to adharma, if he does not protect his people like a father his sons. His business is to give them security, pledging his own life and the welfare of his beloved ones. Here we are peaceful and engaged in our Tapas, feeding on root and fruit. A fourth of the fruits of our Tapas accrues to the King. The obligation is greater here; for we are devoted to Brahmasādhana. Many are Vānaprasthas who are exposed to the violence and the ravages of the Rākṣasas, and we feel unprotected, though with one like you for protector. Come and see the bodies of the Munis killed and eaten up. The cruel Rākṣasas have done this. All along the Pampā river and the Mandākinī and about the Citrakūṭa are continually harassed. They are vicious. We do not speak untruth. They hurt and damage and are frightful; that is why we all come to you as Śaraṇāgatas for succour. We deserve to be looked after by you. Excepting you, we have no one else in all the worlds for asylum (*gati*). O King, protect us from these Rākṣasas."

The appeal, we see, is to Rāma's Dharma and to his royal obligation which ought to be primary. For a Kṣatriya, the protection of those who come to him for asylum is the supreme duty. Rāma sees his duty is clear. His words comfort them for they are the proper ones. They are full of his innate courtesy. "You need not speak these words to me and in petition. Tapasvins as you are, you may command me. I have entered the forest for personal reasons. This hurt suffered by you from the Rākṣasas comes to me as an opportunity for service. Under the directions of my father I have come into the forest. This has by accident converted itself to an opportunity to serve your (a public) need and purpose. That will make my residence in the forest greatly fruitful. I shall kill the Rākṣasas who are enemies of the hermits.

The Ṛṣis will see my prowess and I shall render this service with my brother..."

It is not surprising that he commits his brother who all along does not speak a word, Rāma can and does speak for Lakṣmaṇa also. It is not lack of individuality in Lakṣmaṇa that he does not contradict or contravene his brother. They are in spirit and intent and in all impulsions to conduct so one with each other that what looks summary and brusque is not really that.

The party of three — Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā — have rested for a day at Sutīkṣaṇa's and move out deeper into the Daṇḍaka. Sītā hands over them their swords. They tie up the quiver and take the bows as the forest resonates with the sound of strings of the bow. Well born and handsome, bright and inspiring the two brothers move up with Sītā, carrying the bows in their hands.

— 2 —

When they are alone Sītā opens a mild dialogue — the words come out from her heart and are full of affection. She tells her husband that there are three great weaknesses (Vyasanas) which one should guard against: (1) Untrue speech, (2) recourse to others' women and (3) violence without provocation. They are all born of desire and very subtly lead to unrighteousness. The second is more serious than the first. Untrue speech Rāma would never be guilty of, for has he not undertaken this exile to carry out the promise of his father and in behalf of truth? How could he have desire for other people's women? O King of men, she says, it will not happen with you ever, anywhere. Even mentally you will not be guilty of it. You are devoted to your wife and I can vouch for it. [The certificate of one's own wife is sovereign evidence and proof in such matters.] You are truthful and devoted to carry out the directions of your father. In you all righteousness is established: which is possible only to one who has conquered his passions — *jitendriya.* You are *vaśyendriya.* (Incidentally one understands that Vaśitva is a great term in self-discipline for a cultured Aryan.)

The third weakness is the most serious of all — ferocity which metes out cruelty to other lives, *paraprāṇābhihimsana,* and without enmity impelled, by a fondness for what may be but a delusion

of duty. You have allowed yourself to be commanded by the Ṛṣis — and decided on death to the Rākṣasas to protect them and sallied out with your brother into the Daṇḍaka armed with your bow and arrows.

Seeing you thus issue forth, my mind is filled with anxiety. Your character is normally devoted to the highest weal: *niśreyasa.* Your going now into the Daṇḍaka thus does not commend itself to me, *na hi me rocate vīra.* I shall give you my reasons; listen to me. You will use your bow and arrows and the dwellers in the forest will be made to experience their expenditure. The bow in the hands of a Kṣatriya is like fuel stacked by the fire which is likely to consume it. I could tell you a story pertaining to this. There used to be once a Tapasvin, truthful and clean and in love with all the deer and bird life. Indra, Lord of Śacī, thought of putting an obstacle to his Tapas. He came down into the Āśrama like a Bhaṭa carrying a sword in his hand and requested the Ṛṣi to hold the sword in trust for him. The Ṛṣi who till then was established in piety felt that from that moment on, his care became the protection of the trust and he carried the sword with him into the forest whenever and wherever he went: *nyāsarakṣaṇatat-paraḥ*: Sītā almost plays upon that phrase. Even when he had to gather roots and fruits, he would never go without it. So deep became his concern for this piece of property that there never was a moment throughout when one could find him without the sword. His mind, filled with violence, diverted him from Tapas. This addiction to violence and ferocity intoxicated him and its constant company led the Muni to hell.

"This is an old story connected with arms-keeping; it is like the company with fire. My affection and regard for you makes me remind you of this principle. I do not presume to instruct you anywise. There is no work here which your bows and arrows should perform. The killing of the Rākṣasas for whom you have no enmity is wrong. You are not a person to desire killing anything in the world not guilty of a crime. You are not in the forests now charged with the task of protecting all sorts of distressed persons. Weapon and forest, Kṣatra and Tapas are not in agreement. We are in a different country with different laws and conventions which should be binding on us. Through your worship of the weapon a worthy mind like yours will become soiled. You

will surely go back, in course of time; become King again and resume your duties, letting me serve my mothers-in-law. No duty entails on you now — when you have left the kingly title and function and come like a Tapasvin into the forest. That woul be Dharma. Dharma earns wealth and happiness is achieved; all that is desirable can be gained through Dharma. Thoughtful people exercise their minds and bodies and strive to earn Dharma; without such striving no happiness can be attained. My good lord, you are ever clean of mind, gentle — *saumya* — and just; settle into an Āśrama and perform the oblations of a Tapasvin's life. You know the essence of the truth connected with all the three worlds."

This more or less concludes her words though a concluding stanza, in my opinion not Valmiki's, waters it down. The high seriousness of Sītā's appeal is lost when she is made to say that she has spoken these words of hers as *cāpalāt pracoditā*. "Who am I, and how am I otherwise able to speak to you about Dharma? Consult your brother and do what will please you."

These words only serve as a mere Pūrvapakṣa for Rāma and Rāma answers her definitely and finally. No further argument is raised between them. Possibly he has thought about it all in the depth of his mind. He is not the sort to analyse his intentions before others nor give reasons for taking a decision. His is an executive mind; when he has taken a decision, he is inflexible in resolve, whatever the consequences whether the resolve and the action are right, for others or at a later time, are no part of his consideration. What he decides there and then is enough for him and is cause of action. The tenth Sarga gives Sītā her husband's reply.

—3—

Rāma's answer is straight, and does not mince matters. He compliments Sītā on her observations and on her earnestness and righteous intention. He has his duties and responsibilities as a Kṣatriya to which he does not admit limitations of space, time and circumstance. That duty is clear. He feels he is not absolved from all obligations. A Kṣatriya bears the bow to see that there is no cry of helplessness and distress raised by anyone in the world when he is about, *Kṣatriyair dhāryate cāpo nārta-śabdo bhaveditī.*

This goes one step further than the Errantry of the feudal Knights going in search of distressed damsels and in aid of those who oppress people. Task and need have to be met. Here are innocent Ṛṣis harassed and persecuted possibly even in their Tapas. They are taken up with their meditations and do the Rākṣasas no injury. They have surrendered themselves to me coming on their own and seek asylum in their distress. They eat root and fruit and want to be left alone. They cannot be free of mind with the cruel acts of the Rākṣasas; *na labhante sukham bhītāḥ* is a major observation and feeling. They must be relieved from fear. I have heard those words. Without their asking me, I should have rushed to their help; they have come of their own and begged of me aid and protection. These Rākṣasas can assume any form. There is no limit to their monstrosities. We are *arditāssma bhṛśam rāma bhavān nastrātumarhati* and at the time of offering of Homa and in the Parva Kālas these man-eating Rākṣasas obstruct us and kill us. They can themselves destroy the Rākṣasas with the power of their Tapas, but should not waste such powers in defence of themselves —

Kāmam tapaḥprabhāveṇa śaktā hantum niśācarān |
Cirārjitam tu necchāmastapaḥ khaṇḍayitum vayam ||
Bahuvighnam tapo nityam duścaram caiva rāghava |
Tena śāpam na muncāmo bhakṣyamāṇāśca rākṣasaiḥ |
Rakṣa nastvam saha bhrātrā tvannāthā hi vayam vane ||

— How can I desist from giving them succour? As long as I am alive I should deem this as my constant care — I have given my word of promise now to those who are devoted to the pursuit of Brahman. It does not matter to me even if my life were the fee or your life, or that of Lakṣmaṇa —

Tadavaśyam mayā kāryam ṛṣiṇām paripālanam |
Anuktēnāpi vaidehi pratijñāya tu kim punaḥ ||

No word can be raised in answer to it. Rāma almost summarily concludes by complimenting Sītā on her affection and earnestness and says how happy he is. "What else can a woman of your largeness of heart and courtesy say? It is —

Sadṛśam ca anurūpam ca kulasya tava cātmanaḥ |
Sadharma cāriṇī me tvam prāṇebhyo'pi garīyasī ||

That must set at rest any further pleadings.

Rāma's is an executive mind; arguments based on place, time and circumstance, Municipal Laws of other Governments do not mean a thing to him, though they should in a modern community. That part of the land did not belong either to him or to Bharata, and Bharata himself is not king. He is merely Rāma's Regent and Viceroy after the Pādukās have been taken home and installed as Ruler. In their name Bharata is carrying on. Even the argument that the Ṛṣis were not in the border-lands of Pampā and Mandākinī, practising austerities and sacrifices not acceptable to other peoples and tribes — are no argument with him. They are innocent and non-interfering. The offence is not mere obstruction, but in harassment and murder of the Ṛṣis. The Ṛṣis are his people with a right to claim protection. His corresponding obligation is to extend it. It may be argued that such an attitude will countenance punishment of alien people in their kingdoms; perhaps there was no international law governing royal conduct in such situations. Such acts will be construed as extra-juristic and hostile today; the guns of Colonial Powers going behind their merchants and the missionaries to Africa and South America will certainly not be deemed moral. [So would this, perhaps, not be; even if done without a selfish or imperial motive.] There have been people who have said that he could not have said to the Ṛṣis that he would think about it or consult Bharata. There was no intention of his taking up this obligation lightly. It is a clear duty as Rāma feels and must be undertaken whatever the consequence. He was confident of protecting them; but poor Sītā had to pay for what a modern secular person would call a rash, even a foolhardy enterprise. However powerful and singular the pair of arms of these two persons, it is a whole continent south of the Vindhyas which was hostile to the Ṛṣis and they did not know it in depth or intensity. It was foreign yet to encroachment from the North. Arguments like these in a modern situation in Vietnam, Korea and West Asia, in Central Europe and elsewhere have been discussed and howsoevr good the intentions of the helpers be, they are not accepted as political morality. They are crass acts accepted as deed so long as they are not challenged and success falls to the hand of the stronger power that officiates and undertakes to punish.

The arguments of Sītā about arms finds a singularly modern echo in the stock-piling of armaments by powers today leading them

to temptations, risks and situations which otherwise would have been inhibited. Whether the final decision was this way or that, one cannot say it is not the part of a counseller and friend like Sītā to present the arguments in the situation. Rāma could be expected to have gone through the whole ground in his own mind before he promised aid. To some minds, to think is to act. The promise to act must have behind it the whole process of thought in a vector-like condensation—as he deems and sums up the situation. In the complexities of international order today these things are discussed and resolved in conference privately or publicly considering all the pros and cons. And whole countries have got to take decisions after some deliberation. Rāma is a one-man-state and his powers as he deems these are adequate to the task. Whether from the individual level or the social or the national, an answer like the one he gives may not be all feasible or right considering the situation and the positions involved. There will be greater complexities in an international situation, governed either by a balance of Power or of Terror and under a system of regulation by international understanding or order. Not that we should make such nice points in connection with a simple situation nor that Rāma was not thoughtful or moral enough at the moment or in the assumptions of responsibility but arguments like these have been advanced in justification of executive action by men who are powerful. They can't get away with it. That Rāma is higher than man and must be treated as an Avatāra, abiding no question and subject to no enquiry in anything that he does, is an extra 'Vyāvahārika' consideration and may be conceded or rejected. Sītā's arguments are not very slender, nor merely directed in behalf of their own security and safety; nor was it a woman's *cāpalya*. She was daughter of a King and wife of Rāma and could be expected to weigh considerations. Nor is she advancing the points as if she were a weak woman. She could talk frankly, analyse a ground vis-a-vis themselves as persons set in a situation and committed to a task which might involve dangerous consequences and as such not likely to be brushed aside. Indeed in the result Sītā has had to pay irrevocably; and Rāma's was, on balance, not absolutely the gain.

na labhante sukham bhītāḥ

is the argument with a wide consideration. Whether it is an individual or a community there is no safety or security, no mental

peace for persons involved, if they are continuously subject to threats. Sources of trouble ought to be removed, strength and courage have to be put into them. Their positions and rights have to be safeguarded and if it means confronting those who are bent in oppression, they must be confronted. That is perhaps the reason why the Atlantic Charter desires to guarantee freedom from fear. Whether it can be compassed or not—is a different thing; as long as the qualities of power exist a thing like that cannot be assumed or guaranteed. A person like Rāma, or institutions like him have got to underwrite such a freedom. Courage of one person in an alien land in a situation like his taking up the challenge against all the practices, the laws, the interests of more than half the continent south of the Vindhyas is bold indeed. It only shows that his confidence was unbounded, that he was himself more than an army and could stand against any grouping of persons, i.e. against any or all comers. Possibly there was no such fear or consideration. It was forest-land. Individuals and groups however powerful in themselves, he thought he could manage and overcome. Fear of unsuccess never enters his head and the strength of what he deems right gives him courage and assurance. All is subsumed to his decision first and in his reply to Sītā.

Any way, this dialogue between Sītā and Rāma tells us how vital and significant, how meaningful even in a modern situation, an Epic insight and episode can be. Levels of perception and hierarchies of value, balance of considerations, right and wrong, secular considerations, armaments, municipal laws, and the demands of duty, inflexibilities of character and assessment of obligation under such complexities are all involved. If we felt like instituting inquiries into it, Sītā was, and, therefore felt called upon to raise the issue and compelled Rāma to consider her arguments before action was taken. The action taken was deliberate and purposive with full awareness of all the consequences. The risk was calculated and taken.

THE PROBLEM OF TRAGIC PLEASURE: THE ENJOYMENT OF PATHETIC EMOTION

BY

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The problem of tragic pleasure has exercised the minds of many literary critics as well as philosophers through the ages. It has almost become an enigma. It is really intriguing that tragedy should please us. And please tragedy does, as does all art. The bewildered hedonist would echo the question raised by a shrewd critic: "Why in the temple of pleasure do we set up a god of sorrow?" The question itself suggests the answer that the god of sorrow has found a place in the temple of pleasure just because his presence there is found enjoyable.

No doubt there is much trafficking in sorrow in a tragedy. Is there something wrong with the spectators? Is it that they love to see others being plagued with misfortune, as the Romans enjoyed the sight of the gladiator's slaughter? It is indeed in no way edifying to know that one derives pleasure in another's pain.

Or is it that one likes to see a tragedy because it gives one an opportunity to identify oneself with the tortured hero and get masochistic pleasures out of it? Or is it just the awakening and the gushing out of the sympathy, of the fellow-feeling which is always there deep down in man's nature — the tender compassion that articulates itself in Miranda's observation, "O, I have suffer'd with those that I saw suffer!" by way of her reaction to the shipwreck?

But "there is enough sadness in life without going to the theatre for it," observes someone.

However, the Greeks flocked in thousands in the open amphitheatre and sat through a succession of three tragedies. The black flag on an Elizabethan theatre on the bank of the Thames attracted an audience which witnessed the performance of tragedies with rapt interest.

Certainly the theatre-goer does not undertake a pilgrimage to be able to realize that all life is misery and nothing more. Paradoxically enough, the spectacle of the death of the tragic hero gives an edge to his understanding of and appetite for life. And that is why Aristotle went on record that Tragedy does not depress us, it rather elevates.

Let us not confuse the tragic with the merely sad. Nor does Tragedy seem to bank on sympathy as melodrama does. Nor is Tragedy just a vision of the valley of tears. Rather it suggests "thoughts that lie too deep for tears". It is a cry of utter helplessness: "The pity of it—oh the pity of it!"—exclaims Othello. Rama asks: "Where—oh where are you, love, where even the arrows of Lakshmana cannot reach?"

Needless to add that Tragedy has nothing to do with harrowing cruelty or bloodshed.

It is everybody's experience that the intensification of emotions, the spiritual tension in Tragedy ultimately leads to and resolves into a sense of repose. But how and why is it so? This is the riddle which many a philosopher has attempted to solve only partially, if not in vain.

Aristotle ascribed this to the arousing of the emotions of pity and terror and the ultimate purgation or purification of those emotions which Tragedy led to. I. A. Richards, commenting on this, says: "Pity, the impulse to approach, and Terror, the impulse to retreat, are brought in Tragedy to a reconciliation which they find nowhere else, ... This is the explanation of that sense of release, of repose in the midst of stress, of balance and composure, given by Tragedy, for there is no other way in which such impulses, once awakened, can be set at rest without suppression."

This purports to be a psychological explanation of the mystery of tragic pleasure. Elizabeth Schneider while emphasising the psychological process refers to the aesthesis of the experience: "We cannot actually, I think, in our own life experience pity and terror at the same time: one drives the other out .... Precisely because of their irreconciliability in life we receive the greatest pleasure from their union in art .... It is through form that this shift of value takes place: the painful becomes partially transformed

through imaginative gratification of man's deep desire, the desire for unity of all things."

Milton, concluding his poetic-play Samson Agonistes, referred to the end-effect of Tragedy — or shall we say all art ? — namely

"... *calm of mind, all passion spent.*"

This would bring us very near the Indian approach to the problem of the enjoyment of pathetic emotion — of *Karuna-rasa,* or for that matter all Rasas, as we shall shortly see.

Let me hasten to add that Sanskrit drama, profoundly rich as it is, has no specimen of what could be described as Tragedy. And this is in all probability due to the difference in the cultural life. The beginning and end of man's life are shrouded in mystery, only the intervening portion is manifest. What place is there for mournfulness ? (*Gita* 2).

There is an undying faith in the ultimate outcome being good, a faith that Good prevails. Even in Tragedy we are shown that the Law prevails, but Tragedy does not directly aim at proving that the Law is Good, it rests content with presenting before us a vision which enraptures us because of its Beauty.

Even in the Western tradition only two periods stand out as propitious for the creation of Tragedy, both glorying in man's stretching his potentialities to the fullest. Athens created Tragedy in the peak-hour of its glory. So did Elizabethan England. It is indeed very significant that the great Tragedies were written not in an age of anxiety or depression but in sunlit ages. It is no mere accident that the accent in both the ages is on humanism, the Renaissance humanism being an offshoot of the Greek humanism. One can see that writers of Tragedy in other ages find it difficult to bring the suffering of a soul in agony into a sharp focus. It is particularly so after the industrial revolution. Not that man is cut to size. It is the magnitude of the soul-agony that matters and not necessarily the social stature of the hero. Was Lear ever so royal as he is in the hovel on the open heath on that wintry night? But Ibsen's *'Hedda Gabler'*, Tcheckov's *'Three Sisters'*, Miller's *'Death of a Salesman'*, even though they plumb the depth of human pathos, somehow or other lack the reference-frame, and maybe therefore the aesthetic significance, of the Greek and the Elizabethan Tragedies.

It will be clear from this discussion that it would be hardly to the point to refer to a Sanskrit play like the *Uttararamacharita* as a Tragedy, or to speculate that *Sakuntala* should make a perfect Tragedy if it ended with the fifth act because it fulfils Hegel's requirement that the only tragic subject is a spiritual struggle in which each side has a claim upon our sympathy. No doubt both Sakuntala and Dushyanta inspire sympathy, but the rump, ending with the fifth act, would cease to be a Kalidasian play and it is doubtful whether it would be a Tragedy. In one of the most outstanding Tragedies, *Antigone* by Sophocles, it is Creon who wins our sympathy at first and we find it difficult to understand Antigone but in the later part of the play the roles are interchanged. It is no good saying both Creon and Antigone claim our sympathy in the play. Rather our superficial sympathy for Creon in the beginning gets transformed into its opposite with redoubled vigour as the facts — the emotional facts of the case are gradually revealed to us.

Another difference between Western Tragedy and a Sanskrit play concentrating on pathos is that the tragic interest normally centres on the death of the hero himself, while in a Sanskrit drama, *Karuna-rasa* is generated because somebody closely related to the hero is no more, as is the case with Bhavabhuti's Rama who thinks that Sita is no more.

Thus we see that it would be hazardous to equate the Tragic with the *Karuna,* but there is one common question which both provoke in our mind: Why do we enjoy a tragedy ? Why do we enjoy a play of *Karuna-rasa* ?

Tragedy is a typical Western form and tragedies form a considerable bulk of the most significant literary creations of the West. So it is that the literary critics and philosophers of the West are especially called upon to try to explain the mystery of tragic pleasure. We saw how hard they are put to doing it. In Sanskrit there is no such body of literature in which *Karuna* is predominant. All the same the Sanskrit writers on aesthetics find themselves coming to grips with the problem of pleasure through pain while discussing the nature of the aesthetic experience.

Abhinavagupta, the master-exponent of the Rasa theory, takes note of a view that regarded Rasa as being made up of pleasure

and pain—a view that, according to him, agrees with the Samkhya doctrine. Then he proceeds to propound his own thesis which shows that Rasa is something which is enjoyed. He says: 'Rasa is revealed by a special power assumed by words in poetry and drama, the power of revelation—to be distinguished from the power of denotation—consisting of, and animated by, the action of generalizing the Determinants, etc. (*sādhāraṇī-karaṇa*). This power has the faculty of suppressing the thick pall of mental stupor which cloaks one's own consciousness .... Rasa, revealed by this power, is then enjoyed with a kind of enjoyment, different from direct experience, memory, etc. This enjoyment ... has the nature of beatitude (*ānanda*) and light (*prakāśa*)." "From whichever point of view it is examined, Rasa is, in any case, simply and solely a mental state which is the matter of cognition on the part of a perception without obstacles and consisting in a Tasting." Abhinava makes it clear that "all Rasas are dominated by pleasure; for the essence of light—closely dense light, consisting of the Tasting of one's own consciousness—is beatitude." Then making a special reference to the experience of sorrow he adds: "For example: in ordinary life also, women, even when they are immersed in the compact Tasting of the form of consciousness called sorrow, find rest in their own heart, in so far as their consciousness, even then, consists of, and is animated by, a rest without obstacles. Pain is simply and solely, an absence of rest." And he reiterates: "All the Rasas thus consist of Beatitude." "Rasa is precisely Tasting consisting of a form of consciousness free from obstacles, differing from ordinary forms of consciousness." Abhinava's analysis shows that according to him aesthetic experience is a state of consciousness, which is indistinguishable from *ānanda*—beatitude.

Thus we find that the Indian Rasa school approach to art-experience leads to the conclusion that all art experience ends in *ānanda*—beatitude. The case of an art-experience in which sorrow plays a predominant part is also covered by the general theory. They are not required to examine such a case separately as their opposite numbers in the West are. However, they do mention plays, in which sorrow occurs, in order to emphasize their general theory that *ānanda*, beatitude, is the *summum bonum* of all art-experience.

Not that there were no dissident voices. Apart from those to whom Abhinava refers, special mention should be made of Bhoja

and Ramachandra-Gunachandra who said that Rasa consisted of pleasure and pain (*Sukhaduḥkhātmako Rasaḥ*). The fallacy that the latter commit is that of confusing the practical experience and the art-experience.

Abhinava, Visvanatha and Mammata make bold to describe Rasa as akin to or of the same order as the Tasting of the supreme Brahman.

Thus, the Indian writers on aesthetics find no difficulty with the strange contradiction of pleasure through pain, as their very understanding of the aesthetic experience resolves the problem.

It should be added by way of a footnote that there is a section of Sanskrit critics who interpret Bhavabhuti's words *Eko rasaḥ Karuṇa eva* at the end of the third act of *Uttararamacharita* as the poet's claiming for Karuna the status of the only Rasa, of which the other Rasas are only transformations. As the commentator Viraraghava points out all that the poet meant Tamasā, the associate of Sita, to claim was that the one and the same Karuna Rasa assumed different forms in different contexts. We experience *Karuna* in the context of Vāsantī and Rama who think Sita is no more, Karuna-Vipralambha (to use Visvanatha's nomenclature) in the context of Sita who is separated from her lover and, shall we say, *Karuna-Śanta* in Tamasā's own context. That is why Tamasā exclaims: *Aho Samvidhānakam*—'What workmanship!' Others have said that *Śringara*, the Erotic, is the only Rasa, that *Adbhuta*, the Marvellous is *the* Rasa. Abhinava, with his acute sharpness of observation, points out that Bharata, while introducing the famous Rasa-formula uses Rasa in the singular and says that there is one *Mahārasa* of which the various Rasas are variants because of the special permanent mental states involved in each case. Bharata while excluding *Śānta* (the Quietistic) Rasa, wisely suggests that all Rasas partake of the nature of the *Śānta*. Abhinava also says that the various Rasas ultimately yield a quasi-philosophic Taste. Thus does all art-experience, including that of Tragedy or a play of *Karuṇa-rasa*, culminate into a "calm of mind", a dynamic calmness, a state of rapturous repose. Western Tragedy with its humanistic preoccupation exclaims: 'What a piece of work is man!' Sanskrit drama with its preoccupation with man-God, God-man, affirms in Bhavabhuti's words: 'What a piece of workmanship is life!'

THE FUNCTION OF CRITICISM: THE WESTERN TRADITION

BY

PROF. S. RAMASWAMI

I have often wondered what Matthew Arnold would have said of the state of culture today and what he would have regarded as the modern function of Criticism. Arnold cared deeply for culture, indeed so deeply that he strove hard to get people to realize that with the disintegration of revealed religion under the searching scrutiny of modern historical scholarship in relation to the Bible, the safest course was to ensure that poetry replaced religion. As Poetry dealt with ideas rather than with facts, according to Arnold, there was no danger of anything like a repudiation of the value or validity of poetry such as had begun to take place in relation to religion. Intellectual anarchy which he regarded as the opposite of culture could only be averted by a steady cherishing of the best poetry, poetry which survived the intelligent application to it of the famous 'touchstones' of his essay on The Study of Poetry. But what would Arnold have thought of the 'modernist' poetry that has begun to flow into the river of English poetry? Would he have tolerated the divorce of sense from poetry, the meaninglessness of much modernist poetry, its staccato incoherence of diction and of thought, its complicated and deliberate obscenity? One doesn't know for certain, but it can certainly be said of Arnold that he cared enough for logic to require that a poet did not blatantly flout it. He liked a poet to have a sound subject matter and not to beat his luminous wings in the void in vain. And as a critic he wanted passages from universally acknowledged classics in Great poetry to be 'touchstones' for the determination of the quality of a new exercise in poetic creation. He did not look upon criticism as other than instrumental in this regard, as other than a means. He held the view, now regarded as outrageously commonplace, if not absurd, by the sophisticated moderns, that poems were

written by men and women of poetic sensibility and that these were meant to afford joy in the first instance by their conformity to the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty and to communicate their 'criticism' of life to the reader.

We have gone far, far away from these basic values in these times. There is an apparent 'topsy-turvyness' about both the ends and the materials of artistic creation, 'Meanings slipshod, elliptic, relative, significance', is now the chosen end, whatever 'significance' may mean. Poetry indeed, according to some of these voluble moderns should have nothing to do with meaning. And poetry need not afford enjoyment either of the kind the Romantic School fancied or of the kind the classicists cherished with such reverence. These new views do not come as a shock, indeed should not, to those who believe that every age has its own standards of taste and therefore the literature which it cares for. A perfection that has been is no perfection for other times, at any rate, not necessarily. And, thank God, there are many kinds of perfections, especially in the illimitably vast field of artistic creation and of critical response to it.

Matthew Arnold had, in his time, to plead rather earnestly, even strenuously sometimes, for criticism and for the elimination of standards deriving from a charlatan confusion between the good and the excellent. And he was particular, besides, that neither the historical estimate nor the personal estimate should be confused with the real estimate of the worth of a given piece of art. And as a warning against yet another danger, he preached the ideal of regarding the whole of Europe (he would have said, the world, had he been living now) as a vast confraternity, as essentially one, with common artistic standards and values. It is easy to laugh at Arnold, as Lytton Strachey did, and dismiss the Arnoldian view as an Inspector of Schools' approach to poetry. But this would be to forget that this particular Inspector of Schools was a very considerable poet in his own right, indeed one whose quality time has not tamed or trounced or thrown away altogether.

Today, both poetry and criticism have come in for an impressively grave and earnest consideration of their character and roles and more than that, there is a sense of their vital importance

to men and society. Indeed there is nothing so amazing as the development of literary criticism of various kinds, involving different approaches to literature deriving from different conceptions of it and of the function of criticism in relation to it. The vast enlargment of the intellectual horizon of modern man has doubtless been a factor in this development. In particular, the growth of the various schools of psychology, the emergence of sociology and anthropology, of linguistics and semantics and of the various brands of Marxism, have affected literary criticism and literature itself so decisively, that we now have nearly as many branches of literary criticism as there are of schools of psychology and so forth.

T. E. Hulme, who perhaps set the tone of literary criticism in our time, was what one would have loosely styled a classicist or literary fundamentalist half a century ago. Actually he was more an anti-Romanticist, regarding men as he did as intrinsically far from perfect or full of possibilities but as limited and disciplined into something decent by order and tradition. He was also conscious of original sin as an ineluctable factor limiting the development of the human effort in the direction of the desired or desirable perfection that anybody should fuss about original sin at all—which consisted merely in Adam and Eve eating an apple, may seem odd especially in view of the vastly and immeasurably most complicated ways of sinning we have achieved latterly. But Hulme thought of men as essentially bad and that he could accomplish anything at all only by means of ethical and political discipline. But that there was redemption possible, that there was grace as an all-important factor—these Hume ignored in his general dislike of the feeble, febrile romantic verse of his time. This reaction against what was regarded as essentially unhealthy (classicism was health, romanticism disease) has since intensified with the vigorous re-appraisals of the romantics by Eliot and his disciples aided as they were in their efforts by the new interest in John Donne and the Metaphysicals, with the publication of Sir Herbert Grierson's great edition of the Poems of Donne. T. S. Eliot enunciated a new theory of poetic creation—it was a process of escaping from personality—a strip-tease exercise?—not a turning loose of personal emotion but an escape from it. And in *After Strange Gods* and his later essays like *Religion*

and Literature he insists that 'you cannot draw a line between aesthetic criticism and moral and social criticism.....you start with literary criticism, and however rigorous an aesthete you may be, you are over the frontier into something else, sooner or later. Theology is for T. S. Eliot, indispensable to literary criticism! And paradoxically enough, it was T. S. Eliot who initiated the revolt against Milton, more especially the Milton of *Paradise Lost*, who alone among the greater English poets would seem to have taken serious account of Original Sin and to have reconciled himself to God and Heaven as governed by principles which one would describe today as political totalitarianism or even as Fascism!

As against these neo-classicists of our time, we have the Psychologists and the Marxists. To the former, poetry is an act of and in the nervous system and bears traces of the health or disease of the latter and the best poetry is that which makes the nervous system function healthily and harmoniously. Though I.A. Richards, the chief spokesman of this school, has since modified his views somewhat, essentially this approach proves the fact that poetry is a way of apprehending the world through imagination But by his realization that many meanings lie implicit in poetry and of the need to explore them closely, he has served to stall the Emersonian search for multiple meanings and for an accuracy, amplitude and fullness of interpretations radically different from the impressionistic chit-chat of a generation ago. The Marxists seek to set the work of art not merely in its social and cultural setting but to look on it as in some way affecting the political and economic class war, on one side or the other. Thus Shakespeare's is a Tudor capitalist attitude, anti-proletarian and therefore to be fought out ruthlessly. Indeed on this view, all poetry and literature other than Marxist is a variant of the opium of the people by which the people are deluded with pathetic and unconscionable subservience to the ruling classes.

All these latter-day developments emphasized one fact, namely that criticism has usurped functions not rightfully belonging to it. Indeed it has gone farther, it has ceased to be what it has always to be, a means, not an end in itself. Bacon called it one of the sciences of conceit. The terrific and terrifying strenuous-

ness with which criticism on criticism on criticism piles up nowadays, more especially in the U.S.A. and Germany, the ruthless concentration with which a little poem is torn up as it were by the roots and relentlessly torn apart into minute, almost infinitesimal parts for near microscopic examination of what it has been guilty of, in relation to the poem—these features of the modern approach make one wish there was no such thing at all as literary criticism. For although in multiplicity of counsel there is safety for the counsellor, there is no help for the person seeking counsel. The poet and artist, like Milton, pray 'what in me is dark, illumine; what is low, raise and support.' Instead of answering this call, modern criticism seems to be bent on creating a 'darkness visible (?)' and to be attracting all the light to itself. Literary criticism inevitably throws some light on the critic but if it does that rather than illumine the work of art, it serves no purpose remotely related to the joys of literary creation or of response to it. The Rishis who responded so rapturously to Lava and Kusa's chanting of the Ramayana of Valmiki set us all an invaluable example. Surrender yourself to the work of art as they did. Upāsanā, intense, unremitting Upāsanā, will serve to make the work of art yield its secret to you. If ever this process fails, either the work in question has nothing to yield of meaning or significance or you are incurably deficient in the power of aesthetic response. You are no' *Sahṛdaya*. For the Sanskrit Ālankārikas are fundamentally right. Except in so far as you have it in you to respond to the beauty, truth and power of a work of art, you can do nothing. *Nisi Domenus frustra*. Criticism is, like creative art, an art, the dharma of which lies in its *anuguṇatva* in relation to creative art. Even as *Smṛti* closely follows *Śruti*, criticism must follow, not displace, the work of art. But the true critic too, like a poet, is born, not made. Universities cannot make you a critic, just as they cannot make you a poet. God alone can!

CHARACTER AND PĀTRA

BY

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Waltair

Thus, from the point of drama, 'character' in its full and proper sense occurs only in action ... Character in itself is not fully 'real' until it is 'in act' or 'in action' ... The swing away from Bradley in Shakespeare criticism has been a swing away from the tendency to make back inferences from the text to determine a supposed full and stable view of the 'character's character' and then to project this inferred (and artificially rounded and complete) 'character' back into disputable areas of the play as an instrument of interpretation.

Humphrey House: p. 71-72

How far more natural is Achilles with all his faults than Rāma with his almost painful correctness of conduct!

Monier Williams

In this modern age we no longer grow up under the influence of some one well-defined moral system supported by the authority of unquestioned religion.

McDougall: *Abnormal Psychology*

Let Medea be fierce and unyielding, Ino tearful, Ixion forsworn, Io a wanderer, Orestes sorrowful.

Horace: *The Art of Poetry*

Immoral plays are the only plays worth writing.

Bernard Shaw

Character and plot do indeed grow harder and harder to separate, as the plot takes place more and more inside the character and the crises of the drama in the theatre of the soul.

F. L. Lucas: *Tragedy*, p. 121

I

This paper attempts a comparative study of the dictum of Aristotle regarding character in drama and the classification of the Hero in Samskṛt Poetics and points out the inadequacies or seaworthiness of these postulates in the light of modern theory and practice. It discusses first the various pitfalls in such a study, then mentions the dicta in the Aristotelian and Samskrit canons and posits some inferences and conclusions.

II

Most discussion of the drama and of its elements like character, plot, etc. in European theory proceeds from the statements made by Aristotle in the *Poetics*. Unfortunately the discussion is tainted by a basic misunderstanding of the key words — even by great scholars. One example will do. When students write essays or teachers lecture on Shakespeare the expression 'tragic flaw' is used generously and authoritatively. And 'tragic flaw' implying moral or ethical flaw is said to be an absurd translation of the Greek word: hamartia. Hamartia means merely a mistake or error — as in the story of the man who killed his pet mongoose mistaking the blood marks on its body for the blood of his child in the cradle whereas later he realizes that the blood was that of a huge cobra the mongoose killed to save the child or in the story of the mouse that gnawed its way into a basket tempted by the hope of food only to be eaten by a snake inside, which not only allayed its hunger but escaped through the very whole that its victim made:

Bhakṣyāśayāhi-mañjūṣām dṛṣṭvākhuḥ tena bhakṣitaḥ |

These two stories illustrate excellently peripety and anagnorisis which along with hamartia hang together. We go on repeating blindly that peripety means Reversal of fortune and anagnorisis means Recognition when their correct meanings are Reversal of direction and Realization: On their blind sin came swift eyelight like a flame. Having generously misunderstood hamartia we wax meaninglessly eloquent that the tragic flaw of Oedipus is hasty templer, of Samson uxoriousness, of Macbeth ambition, of Othello jealousy and so on. This is not just word-chopping; our interpretation of character and plot changes totally the moment we reject one meaning for the other. Shakespeare's version of this hamartia is elaborately paraphrased in *Hamlet* (I-4-23-36):

So, oft it chances in particular men,
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As, in their birth—wherein they are not guilty
Since nature cannot choose his origin—
By the overgrowth of some complexion,
Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,
Or, by some habit that too much overleavens
The form of plausive manners; that these men—
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery or fortune's star,—
His virtues else, be they as pure as grace,—
As infinite as men may undergo—
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault.

To illustrate the misinterpretation of Aristotle on a larger scale, he is supposed to be on the side of Plot and against Character because he wrote: A Tragedy is impossible without action, but there may be one without character. In the words of Lucas "We cannot live without a backbone, but we can live without any higher intellctual life; yet we do not say on that account that a first rate set of vertebrae is more important than a first rate brain." (p. 117) Character is said to be the unique achievement of modern Drama. 'From construction to characterization'—can be the label of the evolution of the playwright. And Shakespeare is supposed to be the Great Barrier Reef dividing the relatively calm sea of humanity in simple outlines from the complex and subtly teasing one in modern plays. To students of modern drama Aristotle's dictum: Plot is the soul of Tragedy, is a bone in the guzzle. Indirectly it is perhaps responsible, wrote even Saintsbury, for Aristotle's worst critical slip—his depreciation of character in comparison with action. (*History of Criticism*, Vol. I, pp. 37-38). It is not Aristotle's worst critical slip; it is Saintsbury's. As Humphrey says: It is a monstrously paradoxical fate that he should have been misunderstood as slighting and minimising the individuality of character which it is supposed to have been the great glory of later drama (especially English Elizabethan drama) to portray. . . . Indeed his theory of the importance of the plot is best understood as an attempt to guarantee the individuality of character. (Aristotle's *Poetics*, p. 80).

Critics shout triumphantly at the ancients with Blake's remark: To generalise is the mark of an idiot; to particularise is the mark

of genius. The distinction between the classical and the romantic is that between the general and the particular. The distinction between

Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall

and

The fishermen that walk upon the beach

is the same between Antigone and Desdemona. There is greater subtlety and more obvious development in Tess and Cleopatra than in Alcestis and Jocasta. Perhaps one has to treat Euripides as an exception. The characters of Phaedra and Medea are essentially modern; we see here the conflict in the theatre of the mind. As a critic remarks even the conflict in Sophocles is a conflict of situations only.

The whole gamut of Western critical theory is held in bondage by

(i) an undue emphasis on characterization alone as a mark of genius,

(ii) an undue fondness for verisimilitude with life.

The late Prof. C. S. Lewis in his well-known British Academy Lecture: *Hamlet: The Prince or the Poem,* protests against the topsyturvydom or putting the cart before the horse in critical evaluation. Should we judge the poem by the prince or the prince by the poem? The critics choose the prince; it is a wrong step. The prince is one of the characters and character itself is one of the elements in a play.

Because of our undue preference for verisimilitude we forget it is a work of art, a linguistic structure, a creation of imagination in which both *nāṭyadharmī* and *lokadharmī* have significant roles to play. In the world of imagination the fabled unicorn or the sabre-toothed tiger is as real as the rat or the squirrel. It is this novelistic bias that gives rise to Monier Williams' remark about Achilles and Rāma or Goethe's complaint against the opening scene of *King Lear* as absolutely irrational. Tillyard deals with this partial reading of a drama: The above theories spring from the false premiss that psychological complication is necessarily deeper than any other literary feature. They confused the sticks and straws and weeds that litter the surface of

the unconscious with the water below and ignored the power of simple juxtaposition and other features of the plot to sound the real depths. Not only was the function of all else than character degraded but certain works of art judged entirely amiss: that is, as triumphs of character and of little else (*Poetry: Direct and Oblique*, p. 227).

In making this comparative estimate of Aristotle's and Samskṛt theory there is the risk of kidnapping Aristotle out of his Tragic and Greek milieu and applying his dictum to other types of drama, to epic — to literature in general. For instance the tragic hero for Aristotle should not be pre-eminently virtuous and just. Because the entirely just man passing from happiness to misery upsets our ethical apple cart. Further the virtuous man is so self-controlled that dramatic possibility is eliminated. Or as Lucas puts it, "The objection to perfect characters is not that misfortunes are, as Aristotle says, unbearable but they are apt themselves to be so" (*Tragedy*, p. 110). We want characters to sin into humanity. Who cares for those who are not of the earth, earthy:

> Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null,
> Dead perfection and no more

When we think of the inspiring and ennobling characters in Samskṛt drama and epic like Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, when Rāma directs Vibhīṣaṇa to perform the obsequies of Rāvaṇa: *mamāpi eṣa yathā tava* or Dharmaputra declines to get into Indra's chariot unless the dog too was admitted: *Mā me śriyā samgamam etayā astu;* when Śakuntalā says *Mama sucaritapratibandhakam purākṛtam* etc.; when we are translated into a diviner air, we think Aristotle's rule inadequate. Heroic goodness is infectious, not unbearable. It is true, as C. S. Lewis points out, that 'in all but a few writers the 'good' characters are the least successful . . . We do not really know what it feels like to be a man much better than ourselves. . . Heaven understands Hell and Hell does not understand Heaven and all of us in our measures share the Satanic or at least the Napoleonic blindness. (*Preface to Paradise Lost*, pp. 100-101) Lever in his discussion of *Measure for Measure* writes: Twentieth century taste, in art as in life, welcomes the discordant and extreme; but is insensitive to the

virtues of the mean: understandably most modern critics have been preoccupied with the tensions in the earlier part of the play. (Introduction, XCI, *Measure for Measure*).

In Samskṛt Poetics the typology of character is integrated with the demands of living and the psychology of character. Even a Śānta is Dhīra; goodness is energetic goodness—characterized by utsāha: *tṛptim na paśyāmi ca te mahātman.* It is not withdrawal and inoperancy of spirit. Dharmavīra (Yudhiṣṭhira), Dayāvira (Jīmūtavāhana), Dānavīra (Karṇa) are no less than Yuddhavīra. 'Foreheads of men have bled where no wounds were.' The Hindu theorists were of the conviction that Poetry should achieve the puruṣārthas, that books make men, that poetry is a deed not a dream, that works which do not stiffen us ethically should be abandoned. McDougall regrets that in the modern age we no longer grow up under the influence of some well defined moral system supported by the authority of unquestioned religion. (*Abnormal Psychology*, p. 216).

Similarly Aristotle's 'Even a woman may be virtuous' is amusing in its pitifulness in so great a philosopher. It is as morally inaccurate as his statement that women possessed fewer teeth than men is biologically inaccurate. We can only laugh at this when we see the gallery of ennobling women characters in drama and epic like Sītā or Sāvitrī or Śākuntalā. If critics blindly say that Sītā is impossible, one has to repeat the retort of Grant Allen about Hedda Gabler: I took her down to dinner twice a week. Every Hindu woman is a minor edition of Sītā in her aspirations at least. In no other country have the national epics and dramas moulded national character (and still do mould) as in India. In the words of Hopkins: 'Kaikeyī, Kausalyā, Maṇḍodarī, Mantharā, Sītā, Draupadī, Damayanti engage our interest far more than Helen. Nothing can be more beautiful and touching than the pictures of domestic and social happiness in the epics. In depicting scenes of domestic affection and expressing those universal feelings and emotions which belong to human nature in all times and places, Samskṛt epic poetry is unrivalled by Greek Epos. It is not often that Homer takes us out of the battle field. Domestic life and manners in the Samskrit epics are more true and real than the Greek and Roman.' The story of a Hindu woman criminal condemned to death along with her

husband requesting the authorities to have her executed first so that she might not die a widow is an eloquent commentary on the hold of Epic and Drama on the common man. Sāvitrī tells the God of Death that her journey cannot be obstructed because she is a Satī: *na me pratihatā gatiḥ*. Prof. BASHAM points out that a story in *Bhojaprabandha* is more elevating than even the story of Sāvitrī: A wife sees her child crawling towards the fire but does not rush for rescue lest she disturb the sleep of the husband in her lap. Imogen's

> Why, good fellow,
>
> What shall I do the while? Where bide? How live?
> Or in my life what comfort, when I am
> Dead to my husband?

is an effective reply to Aristotle's prejudice. It remains a strange and almost inexplicable fact, writes LUCAS, that in Athena's city where women were kept in almost Oriental suppression as odalisques or drudges the stage should yet have produced figures like Clytemnestra and Cassandra, Atossa and Antigone, Phaedra and Medea and all the other heroines who dominate play after play of the misogynist Euripides. . . In modern tragedy as a whole the same predominance exists. . . At all events a very cursory view of Shakespeare's work suffices to reveal how this dominance, this initiative of women persists from Rosalind to Lady Macbeth. . . So too in Racine. . . So again with Ibsen. . . It is an odd, not perhaps a very important fact, but a sufficient answer, I think, to the dictum of Aristotle: 'Even a woman may be good'. (*Tragedy*, p. 115) M. le Baron Guerrin de DUMAST writes about heroines in Sanskrit poetry: Neither designed nor dreamt of even by the Greeks or by the Romans, who had never risen to such heights; neither suspected by Homer or even by Virgil, feminine types of such elevation, such delicacy, such purity of sentiment could not have been conceived any more by the great Samskṛt epic writers if these had not met on the banks of the Ganges what did not exist either by the shores of the Meles or of the Tiber.

II

Having mentioned the pitfals in the Poetics and Western literary evaluation we shall now take up Aristotle's portrait of a

hero in a tragedy. The extendibility of the outline to the epic hero or other literary forms is indicated by such titles as: Aristotle on the Art of Fiction. In Chapter XV Aristotle lays down that characters in a tragedy should be:

(i) Good, (ii) Appropriate, (iii) Like reality, (iv) Consistent. Tragedy in Aristotle's theory represented men as finer than they are as Polygnotus painted them finer. When we compare this with the classification of the Hero in Sanskrit Alaṁkāraśāstra the difference strikes us immediately. Sanskrit poetics gives four types of Heroes:

(i) Dhīrodātta, (ii) Dhīroddhata, (iii) Dhīralalita, (iv) Dhīraśānta.

Aristotle mentions just four points regarding dramatic characters in general. And Dhanañjaya lays down that a Hero should be:

> Netā vinīto madhuras tyāgī dakṣaḥ priyaṁvadaḥ
> Śūro dṛḍhaśca tejasvī śāstracakṣuśca dhārmikaḥ
> (Daśarūpa, ed. by HAAS, p. 40).

It is but relevant to think of Rāma's character—a constellation of splendours, thick with stars. Dhanañjaya's list tallies pretty well with that given by Aristotle for 'good'.

Today we no longer believe in this impressive and well-meant dictum of Aristotle or Dhanañjaya. A hero in a modern play need not be 'good' nor 'dhīra'; he can be heroically unheroical, a loafer or a fool or a soul in tatters or rags. When we see the depressing mediocrity or faceless littleness in modern fiction or drama, writes LUCAS, we feel that Aristotle was not on the wrong track after all. Neither Dhanañjaya. Aristotle's 'goodness' is energetic goodness but his rule does not eliminate Iago if the action needs depraved characters. But the Greek, as House remarks, would not have understood phrases like the Hero as Villain or the Villain as Hero. By hero we mean the leading character, not one who is heroical. If 'appropriateness' means true to type or no, we cannot say; the word may connote political and social status as defined by law, custom and function. Ulysses cannot be made to conduct himself like a slave nor can a messenger behave like Agamemnon. 'Likeness' implies a fine and delicate balance between likeness to life necessary for initial sympathy and un-

likeness necessary for the coherence of art, between what the Samskritists call *Nāṭyadharmī* and *Lokadharmī*. 'Consistency' is self-explanatory. Provision is made for being 'consistently inconsistent'. The law of inner necessity or probability should not be violated. And convincing impossibility is preferable to an unconvincing possibility. Does Caliban or the ten-headed Rāvaṇa carry conviction to us? Can Rāma the ideal of monogamy be represented as a Sheikh delighting in a harem?

The Sanskrit theorist classifies the Hero of the Śṛṅgāra plays into

(i) Dakṣiṇa, (ii) Anukūla, (iii) Dhṛṣṭa and (iv) Śaṭha.

The Hero has four types of companions:: Viṭa, Pīṭhamarda, Ceṭa, Vidūṣaka and may belong to the Divine, the non-Divine, the Divine-cum-non-Divine. As a King, he is of three types: self-supporting, relying on the ministers or sharing the burden with the minister.

The Heroine is in the same way anatomized and classified bewilderingly. This was almost inevitable, writes Croce, at the beginning of aesthetic reflection and the Sanskrit theory of poetry employed the same method independently when, for example, it defines and legislates for the principal and eigthteen secondary styles of drama, fortyeight varieties of hero; and we know not how many kinds of heroine. (*Aesthetics*, p. 437). The Heroine is:

(i) Svīyā, (ii) Parakīyā and (iii) Sāmānyā.

The Svīyā is divided into mugdhā, madhyā, and prauḍhā.

Haas remarks: The Hindu fondness for minute and often futile classification and sub-division is in evidence throughout the work but is best exemplified in the treatment of the Erotic sentiment and also of the types of the heroine. (*Daśarūpa*, Introduction, XXIX). This hobby can be of no help to the poet; much less can it be to the critic. Does not a label like 'sāmānyā' 'boy' the greatness of Cleopatra? Are we to label Macbeth and Othello as Dhīroddhata minus Dhīra? It is well to bear in mind what McDougall has to say about Jung's types: The definitions of temperament, temper, disposition and charac-

ter have shown the reader that in my view the constituent factors of personality are so complex, so many and so independently variable that we may not hope to separate personalities into a small number of clearly defined classes. . . It is not claimed that all human beings can be classed in one or the other of the sharply separated groups. (*Abnormal Psychology*, p. 435). But we cannot but admire this relentless pursuit of the theorist. Empson observes in his *Seven Types of Ambiguity* that 'distinction, however irrelevant, heightens consciousness.' (p. 322).

So deadening is the hand of theory that the use of Prākṛt which as a creative technique might fruitfully diversify character becomes a soulless stylized technique. We note how subtly language is changed as conditioned by the context in Othello: Blank verse is the natural speech of Othello. . . With him lapse into prose denotes a breakdown of control. With Iago prose shows he is self-controlled but his hate jets out in spasms of indignant rhetoric. Lyric is used to create an atmosphere. Ordinarily prose keeps the scene to the level of daily life; blank verse heightens the dignity. Prince Hal speaks prose in the company of Falstaff and verse to his father. (*Introducing Shakespeare*, p. 136). Similarly Virādhagupta reverts to his Samskṛt though as snake-charmer he talks Prākṛt. Why should woman always talk in Prakrit and the charioteer address his master as āyuṣman. A better rule is:

> Yaddeśaṁ nīcapātraṁ yat taddeśaṁ tasya bhāṣitam
> Kāryataś cottamādīnāṁ kāryo bhāṣāvyatikramaḥ
> (*Daśarūpa*, HAAS, p. 75).

III

So finally all that we can say about characters is that characters in drama should have character—character in the sense of vertu, in the pagan sense of strength and intensity. It is not wickedness but weakness that snaps the jugular vein of characterization. And Western theory looks askance at moral Olympians or Grandisons of virtue. It is neatly summed up in Mariana's words:

> They say the best men are moulded out of faults
> And for the most become much more the better
> For being a little bad.

In our discussion of any theory, Western or Samskṛt, it is good to bear in mind Dryden's courageous and sensible remark: It is not enough that Aristotle said so, for Aristotle drew his models of tragedy from Sophocles and Euripides; and if he had seen ours he might have changed.

Let characters have character—in Drama or Epic or Novel; that is the only sensible and incontrovertible rule we can lay down. We need not treat Aristotle and Dhanañjaya as Scripture though it is our duty to write Exegesis. We do not ethicize our aesthetics as the Greeks and the Sanskrit theorists did. One of the most memorable sentences of Leavis is that great works of art enact their morality; 'enact' is the word. It is not Rāmavat, na Rāvaṇavat. Vertù, not virtue, is the endocrine secretion that makes character alive.

A REFERENCE TO KĀLIDĀSA IN YAŚAS-TILAKA

BY

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Patna

In a remarkable passage in Yaśas-tilaka describing Śikhaṇḍi Tāṇḍava Maṇḍana forest, occurs a phrase,

Akavilokagaṇanamapi sakālidāsam

The commentator, Śrutasāgarasūri, explained this clause in the passage as follows—

> *nanu yat kavi-loka-gaṇanā-rahitam tat sa-kālidāsam kālidāsa-sahitam katham bhavati | viruddham etat | parihriyate—akam kaṣṭam tasya vilokansya darśanasya yat tathoktam api niścayena sakālidasam āmrataru-sahitam bhavati ||*

A more accurate appreciation is possible, if the context, viz. the description of a forest and the employment of a series of descriptions of the type, "although without (*a-*) still full of (*sa-*)", were taken into account. Accordingly, *akavilokagaṇaṇam* should be resolved into (*a*)*-kavilokagaṇanam* and not *aka-vilokagana-nam.* The *virodha* phrase, after the *virodha-parihāra* interpretation, should be applicable both to the forest as well as to Kālidāsa, and not to the forest alone. In the case of the forest, it was: *a*+*kaviloka*+*gaṇanam,* i.e. with countless delightful scenes, as also (*api*), *sa*+*ka-ali*+*dāsam,* i.e. with (trees) that have to submit (*dāsam*) to pleasure-loving bees [*k*-(*sarvasvān*)*-alīn*], a *Madhyamapadalopa* compound. The trees which have been indirectly referred to, are the mango trees, especially when the blossoms appear on the branches.

The reference to the poet is well known:

> *Purā kavīnām gaṇanāprasaṁge kaniṣṭhikādhiṣṭhitakālidāsā |*
> *Adyāpi tattulyakaverabhāvāt anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva ||*

While counting poets, Kālidāsa was assigned the first place, although after having enumerated him the counting could not proceed any further. This is the direct application of the clause to the poet. The second implication is more subtle: *ka-kavīloka-sahitam = sukhānubhavayuktamapi = duḥkhapūrṇam api sukha-sarvasvabhūta* (= *saka-*) —*Āmrataru-* (= *alidāsa*)*-sahitam*. In other words, just as *Cūtena saṁśritavatī navamālikā* (*Śākuntala*, iv.13) was a source of joy and satisfaction to Kaṇva-muni, so was the *Āmra* (typifying Duṣyanta), eventually a source of delight to Śakuntalā.

The Āmrataru is Duṣyanta, because he hides behind the Āmra (v.l. Kesara) tree in Act I; she is compared to a creeper by the side of this very tree in the stanza I.18: *Adharaḥ kisalayarāgaḥ;* and in Act iv.13: *Cūtena saṁśritavatī* &c., Kaṇva himself identifies Duṣyanta with the Mango-tree: The Āmra is the alpha and omega of Śakuntalā, and Śakuntalā is the alpha and omega of Kālidāsa.

In a number of poetic eulogies of Kālidāsa, the atmosphere of pleasant sensation caused by his poetry is compared to the intoxicating fragrance of the mango blossom. The best example of this kind is furnished by Bāṇabhaṭṭa—

Nirgatāsu na vā kasya Kālidāsasya sūktiṣu/
Prītir madhura-sāndrāsu mañjarīṣviva jāyate//
(*Ka-ali-dāsa*)

It may be that this fancy was prompted by Bāṇabhaṭṭa recalling the following lines of Kālidāsa, in order to return the compliment—

sadyaḥ pravālodgama-cārupatre nīte samāptim
navacūtabāṇe/
niveśayāmāsa madhur dvirephān nāmākṣarāṇīva
manobhavasya//

degree of irony cannot be ruled out. In the Introduction of the play he gives a picture of himself which is, one will have every reason to believe, ironical. He paints himself as endowed with mutually incompatible virtues. He is well-versed in the Vedas and is therefore fore-most among the Brahmins; but he is called Śūdraka. He is not only versed in the Ṛgveda and the Sāmaveda and Mathematics but he also knows thoroughly the art of the courtesans and the training of the elephants. He is a celebrated king who is intoxicated with the warlike spirit and who has performed the Aśvamedha Yajña; but at the same time he is also one who has collected the wealth of penances. Finally, it may not be without a tinge of irony that the author appends ten days to the usually wished for hundred years' span of life.[4]

Most of the important characters have been touched with irony: Viṭa, Śakāra, Vidūṣaka, Samvāhaka, Darduraka and the hero himself are all looked at with a view which has irony as its essential constituent.

The poverty-stricken hero's extreme altruism, his excessive indulgence in music and in love, his faith in the religious rites and the dominance of the super-ego in him are juxtaposed with the common sense, worldly-wise attitude of the jester and with the radically heterodox, venturesome, scruple-free attitude of the thief Śarvilaka and the contrast brings in irony.

The hero is in such a plight that there is no oil in his house to light a torch but in his old prosperous merchant-of-Avantī style he orders, 'Vardhamānaka, go and light the torch'.[5] The Prāvaraka which has been presented to him by a friend and which may also have to be used for covering his only son to keep off cold, he throws as a reward at Kumbhīlaka, the wrestler who foiled a mad elephant's attempt to smash a mendicant. It is remarkable that the Prāvaraka is a present: Cārudatta's poverty, probably, would not have allowed him to get it treated with the scent of jasmine flowers. At a good news, he would generally feel his fingers and arms for ornaments to throw these away as rewards; finding none he would curse his lot and breathe long

4. Mrcchakaṭika Act I.3, 4 and 5.
5. *Ibid*, Act I ahead of verse 56.

sighs. He would feel for the thief who had found nothing worth stealing in his house. It is such an exalted strain of altruism that it is difficult to praise it without condemning it for lack of foresight and practical wisdom.

Cārudatta's excessive indulgence in music has been juxtaposed with the jester's indifference to it. The hero had been witnessing a musical performance which so interested him that he forgot sleep. Praising the music of Rebhila he lapses into sentimental effusions, but the jester who is more inclined to sleep than to hearing music or its praise remarks that to him man singing in a soft low tone and woman reading aloud Sanskrita fail to produce any emotion other than laughter. Yet the hero continues his high-pitched praise of Rebhila's sweet singing and then the jester says, "O friend, even the dogs are enjoying sound sleep in the streets, let us go home." This remark of his precipitates the irony. Later in the theft-scene there is another dig at Cārudatta's indulgence in music made by Śarvilaka, the thief. The latter has found in the house of Cārudatta nothing worth stealing; but there is an abundance of musical instruments, so much so that he assumes it might be the house of a Nāṭyācārya. The verses sung by Vardhamānaka, in the beginning, form an apt introduction for presenting the hero in the above light. Vardhamānaka praises a master who though poor, is kind to his servants and then he says, "It is not possible to restrain a bull greedy of crops, a wife attached to another man and a man given to gambling." He concludes, "It is impossible to restrain addicts."[6] Immediately afterwards he complains that his master Cārudatta went to enjoy music a long while ago but he had not returned, though it was past midnight. Obviously, Vardhamānaka, who had no extraordinary passion for music or for a new love to keep him awake, was tired of waiting till late, and in a very suppressed tone he gave his reactions to his master's excessive indulgence in music, suggesting at the same time his other possible addictions also. His master is good, no doubt, and deserves all praise for that but he has his addictions to disuade him from which is almost impossible—music is one of them and possibly altruism another and love for a hetaera a third.

6. *Ibid*, Act III.1, 2 onwards.

Cārudatta would not reveal the truth about the theft of the deposit. He would give it that it was lost by him in gambling, by mistake, and so he would like to replace it by a much costlier necklace which his wife obtained from her parents and which now remains her only possession. He would rather pretend to be a gambler than acknowledge the facts. He would not mind giving away the only possession of his house, not only to save his honesty but also to keep up the show. This dominance of super-ego is sharply contrasted with the jester's selfish and worldly-wise attitude. He thinks that it is not at all proper to replace the deposit with a costlier necklace. He may go to the extent of altogether denying the deposit.

The hero's faith in the traditional values of the religious rites is contrasted with the jester's sceptic attitude towards these. To Cārudatta's request that the jester should go and offer oblation to the Mother Deities, the latter replies that he would not go, for the Deities, though faithfully worshipped, were not favourably disposed towards Cārudatta. But Cārudatta himself cannot question the validity of the religious rites. Śarvilaka is the man to do that. He is heterodox, venturesome and free from scruples. He would not mind committing theft in his zeal for securing his love. He also has his religious rites but they are entirely incompatible with those of the hero. He does not offer worship to any Mātṛdevatā or Gṛahadevatā, but he offers prayer to the esoteric Deities of the thieves. Irony precipitates when the hero's and Śarvilaka's respective attitudes towards the sacred threads are contrasted. To one it is the ornament of the Brahmins, though not made of pearls or of gold; by it they offer oblations to the Deities and the Manes. Therefore he thinks his sacred threads to be a suitable legacy for his son.[7] The other has no such elevated feelings towards it. He would fain use this Brahmasūtra of daytime as the Karmasūtra of night: he would use it in making a breach through the wall, in unfastening the ornaments from the person of his victim, in opening bolts, and in preventing the ascendance of poison, in case he is bitten by a snake.[8] It is not possible to hold that the author has a derogatory attitude towards Śarvilaka, for he it is, who ultimately

7. Mṛcchakaṭika X—18.
8. *Ibid.*, II-16.

proves to be the harbinger of good. He would set aside the moral code for his love and would sacrifice love for rescuing his friend. He is tender at heart; when he knows the reality about his booty, he heartily repents and immediately wipes his crime with an appropriate action.

The shampooer Samvāhaka also is ironically viewed. Once a dependent of Cārudatta, later a spoilt gambler and then a Buddhist mendicant whose very sight is held inauspicious, not only by Śakāra the villain, but also by the noble hero Cārudatta himself, he turns out to be the rescuer of Vasantasenā and so the usherer in of the final good.

Śakāra, the villain, is not wholly hateful. Irony in his case has been used to evoke laughter. He gives his topsy-turvy Purāṇic references with the confidence of a scholar versed in them. His boastful airs clashing with his utter ignorance results in irony. By heaping, all at once, the pronounced peculiarities of Māgadhī in his speech, by futile repetitions of the synonyms, and by twenty other incongruities of speech and action, the author has made him more a laughing stock than an out-and-out villain.

Lastly, we have the Viṭa, cultivated and shrewd. He would promise protection to Vasantasenā but would betray her and then repent for betraying. He would have it that Śakāra managed to ravish her but would heartily repent when the villain killed her instead.

Darduraka, wrapt in rags, would think that ten gold coins is mere bagatelle. A poor gambler, he would express himself in chaste Sanskrit and would have the grain of goodness enough to protect a miserable fellow-creature at his own risk.

Ironical situations are strewn all over the play. A complex one develops in the very beginning, round Vasantasenā's escaping into the house of Cārudatta and Radanikā's being mistaken for Vasantasenā. The audience is all the time in the know of the fact while the characters err. Śakāra, in the dark, catches hold of Radanikā mistaking her for Vasantasenā; Viṭa, on hearing her voice, says that it is not Vasantasenā; but Śakāra conjectures that she might have changed her voice to beguile them, with which Viṭa also agrees. The fact is revealed with the appearance of the jester with a lamp. In the Cārudatta the event remains more humorous

than ironical, for there, the Viṭa knowingly catches hold of Radanikā and makes Śakāra believe that it is Vasantasenā, only to befool him and to create some fun at his cost. In Cārudatta's house Vasantasenā, as she bashfully keeps aside, is taken for Radanikā and the hero throws his Prāvaraka at her, asking her to cover Rohasena with it. The fact is revealed with the return of Radanikā and the jester. The ironic effects of this situation are more intensified by the hero's reflections on his poverty-stricken state; he is in such a plight that he believes his servants also would not readily obey him.

The scene of theft also is charged with irony. Even in the hasty moments of boring a passage through the wall, Śarvilaka would allow himself to be prevailed upon by his refined aesthetic sense. He would like to cut an artful passage through the wall, would pause and ponder over various designs: the fully blossomed lotus, sun, crescent moon, rectangle, Svastika, full water jar etc. The jester in his dream hands over the deposit to the thief, upon an oath, believing that he is returning it to his friend Cārudatta. Further when the booty is shown to Madanikā and the tale related, she feels uneasy on Vasantasenā's account, and the audience knows it, but Śarvilaka alleges that she is in love with Cārudatta, and so, naturally, bursts into a sentimental effusion upon the unsteady character of women's, especially courtesans', love. Again Vasantasenā is in the know of the fact regarding the theft of the deposit and so Śarvilaka's and the jester's respective reports to her, regarding the deposit, become ironical.

Ironical situations in the later half of the play are very significant. They are the ironies of destiny, and are the type met with in the Greek tragedies. These disprove the general belief that irony and humour go together for here they lead to unhappy consequences and evoke pathetic feelings. Vasantasenā puts off her ornaments and presents them to Cārudatta's son Rohasena so that a golden cart may be made out of that. But later we find that the bundle of ornaments leads to contrary consequences; it, for the time being, bears out Śakāra's allegation that Cārudatta had murdered Vasantasenā. Again death of an unknown woman ironically coincides with the apparent death of Vasantasenā and further strengthens the case against Cārudatta. The most significant irony, however, is the exchange of carts. Vasantasena is

unknowingly carried to Śakāra to meet her doom and Vardhamānaka carries Āryaka in Cārudatta's cart thinking all the time that he has Vasantasenā inside the cart. Vardhamānaka's report to this effect to the guards goes against Cārudatta. In the trial scene Vidūṣaka bears witness that he was told that Vasantasenā was being taken to Cārudatta in the Puṣpakaraṇḍaka garden. It is further confirmed by Vasantasenā's mother. The audience who know the facts, realise how the destinies are playing foul with Cārudatta.

Ironical utterances also abound in the play. Cārudatta's apprehension (I-36) that evil deeds committed by others are often thrust upon a poor man's shoulders, proves to be a prophetic irony and so does the premonition of the judge that Śakāra's appearance just at the opening of the court foretold a great man's fall as did an eclipse of the rising sun. When the jester humorously remarks that the deposit may be taken away by a thief, Cārudatta adds, "Soon it will be taken back." Here 'soon it will be' read with the preceding phrase 'may be taken away by the thief',[9] results in irony, the full significance of which is realised after the theft has been committed. The irony in the exchange of carts reaches its climax when Vardhamānaka, hearing the jingling of Āryaka's fetters remarks, 'Kadham, nūura sadde, ta aada khu ajja.' It is further pronounced in the jester's reply, 'Kim niaḍena vaddhā se goḍḍa jaṁ saaṁ ṇa oderadi,' to the hero's request that the former should help Vasantasenā alight from the cart.

The Caṇḍāla's assurance to Cārudatta that they would finish him with one blow and he would therefore feel the least possible pain and the request that he should stand erect to suffer the blow are charged with pathetic irony.

Numerous ironic utterances are found in the speeches of Viṭa and Śakāra. The jester's tortuous and elaborate description of Vasantasenā's palace is an example of irony with a stylistic device. It is an irony that the harlots live in luxury and magnificence while educated, cultured and also religious-minded Brahmins and others

9. Vidūṣaka—Jai evvam tā corehiṁ harijjau.
Cārudatta—Acireṇaiva kālena.....
Vidūṣaka—.....
Cārudatta—Niryātayiṣye.

have to lead a miserable life. The harlots are like big merchants whose ships laden with merchandise ply on the seas. The difference, however, is that the sea in their case, is the sea of carnal appetites and their attractive limbs are the sailing vessels. But in spite of all their wealth, they are pitiable. Their absolute helplessness is that they carry a body which is no better than an article of sale. In the beginning, Vasantasenā gets an advice to this effect from the Viṭa[10] and later she also holds her 'Veśabhāva' responsible for all her misfortunes. Even on the eve of her meeting with Cārudatta, the Viṭa wishes her an easy success in the sale of her body which he regards only as a store of amorous festivities.[11] The brother of Vasantasenā may be clad in silk and laden with golden ornaments, but he cannot have social recognition. He is just like the campaka in the cemetery.[12] The bandhulas may lead a comfortable life, may be handsome to look at but with respect to virtue they are despicable.[13] Finally the jester's talks about the mother of Vasantasenā are instinct with virulent sarcasms.[14]

Candanaka's elaborate and artificial verses cautioning the soldiers are ironical. They betray lack of sincerity and alacrity on his own part. This is fully realised in the phrases 'Pāṇapadassa' and 'Piavayasso' used by him for Āryaka. Again finding Āryaka inside the cart and assuring him protection, Candanaka, in haste, speaks out 'Ajjo' when he should have said Ajjā, for he pretended he had seen Vasantasenā. Here also he employs an artificial and tortuous syntax to hide his falsehood.[15] The Karnāṭa-kalaha of the guards is again full of sarcasm.

Sometimes ironical effects have been produced by sheer repetition of a phrase or even a word. Thus arriving at Cārudatta's house Vasantasenā inquires, "Kahiṁ tumhāṇaṁ judiaro?" which is a jocular irony upon the pretended report that the hero

10. Mṛcchakaṭika I-31.
11. *Ibid.*, V-36.
12. *Ibid.*, IV-29.
13. *Ibid.*, IV-28.
14. *Ibid.*, IV-30, etc.
15. Mṛcchakaṭika Act VI, ahead of verse 20.....
Candanaka: Are ko appaccao tuha. Vaam dakkhinattā avvatta-bhasino.....etc.

had lost the deposit in gambling. Again she repeats this phrase when she awakes in the morning at Cārudatta's house. The maid of Vasantasenā asks, 'Kettia raaṇāvali mullaṁ tti' repeating the jester who had made a similar inquiry of Vasantasenā regarding the deposit. When the maid shows to Cārudatta the ornaments that constituted the deposit and were stolen away, the jester looks at them very carefully. Asked if he had seen those before, he replies, 'Bhodi sippikusaladāe obandhedi ditthiṁ.' The same phrase is repeated by Vasantasenā's mother, when she is asked in the court, if she recognised the ornaments found with the jester as belonging to her daughter. The contrasted sequences of the two utterances suggest irony. The one ends is happy union of love, the other leads to Cārudatta's being sentenced to death.

Thus on the basis of this brief survey, we may conclude that in the Mṛcchakaṭika irony has been used with great advantage and effect and in this respect it has a unique place among the Sanskrit dramas.

THE PURŪRAVAS-URVAŚĪ THEME IN INDIAN POETRY AND DRAMA

BY

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'Urvasi! at your feet the songs of poets hum
and swarm round the perfume of your presence'
—*Rabindranath Tagore*

The popularity of Purūravas and Urvaśī is evident in the many references to them as also in a few compositions about them. Apart from the immortal *Vikramorvaśīya* there have been a few works, although known[1] so far only in mss. or references. The *Kāśikā* (IV.3.87) refers to a romance on Urvaśī while explaining the sūtra, *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe*. An *Urvaśīcaritra*[2] and the dramas *Ūrvaśī*[3] *Urvaśī-madana*[4] (Īhāmṛga) and *Urvaśīsārvabhauma-Īhāmṛga*[5] are also known from references and catalogues. About the last-mentioned, it is known[6] that the author was Pradhāni Venkappiah, who served as a minister under the Mysore kings Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar II and Bethada Chamaraja Wodeyar as also under Haidar Ali. The divine Urvaśī, her forcible abduction, the consequent fight and the celestial's association with the mortal Purūravas, all this would have been quite a suitable theme for an *Īhāmṛga* where such things are insisted by writers on dramaturgy.

There are three works in the names of Purūravas and Urvaśī, a lexicon *Urvaśī-nāmamālā* (Skt.), 31 sūtras with commentary entitled *Kādambarasvīkaraṇasūtra* (ms. in Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XIV. no. 10348) in Skt. by Purūravas on the utility

1. *New Catalogus Catalogorum* II, p. 398, III, p. 4.
2. No. 6003. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
3. Bibliotheque Nationale, Dept. des. Manuscrits par A. Cabaton, Vol. II, p. 159. (nos. 32.33).
4. Dr. V. Raghavan, *J. of Oriental Research*, VIII. iv. p. 328.
5. Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore, Vol. I, p. 274 (2 mss.).
6. *QJMS*, XXXI, pp. 36.52.

of drinking from an erotic viewpoint[7] and a short treatise in Tamil on Yoga, *Urvaśīrattinaccurukkam.*[8]

The myth of the primordial lovers Purūravas and Urvaśī recreated by Kālidāsa has elevated these two characters to immortal height. The popularity of the play can be seen in its many editions and translations.[9] Rabindranath Tagore wrote a short poem on Urvaśī. Aurobindo not only translated Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* but also composed a narrative poem in four cantos following the story in the play and in the earlier ritual texts and Purāṇas.

More recently Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar has written a reflective dramatic poem[10] in Hindi, 'Urvaśī' in five acts. With the shadow of Kālidāsa and Aurobindo on it, this adaptation has some novel features too. The maddened frenzy of Purūravas is dispensed with, but in the third and central act, the author represents Purūravas and Urvaśī spending their time in a self-created Eternity in the Gandhamādana regions. In the long dissertations of these two characters the poet attempts to resolve the time-old dichotomy between body and spirit and points out that love is bliss; not the body but the mind is insatiable. The play also ends in a sad note with Urvaśī going to the heavenly regions.

It is interesting to find a story similar in some respects to the *Vikramorvaśīya* in the 30th narration in the *Divyāvadāna* entitled *Sudhanakumārāvadāna.*[11] The hero Sudhana was the son of King Dhana of Uttarapāñcāla and happened to marry a Kinnarī

7. End of the Com.
Phaladvyam ca prāpnoti prajām kāma-sukham tathā /
Urvaśī-lokam āpnoti anta-kāle tu sa pumān //
Colophon: Iti śrī mahārājarṣi-varyeṇa Purūravasā viracitam kāmijanānām vinodāya rativilāsāṅga-bhūtam kādambara- svīkaraṇasūtram savyākhyānam.

8. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Tamil Descriptive Cat. No. 280(w).

9. See Dr. V. Raghavan, *Indian Literature* III.i; X.ii, 1967.

10. Patna, 1961. 'Dinkar ki Urvaśī' (*Vidyābhavan Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Granthamālā,* Banaras) by Dr. Rama Shankar Tiwari is a critical appraisal in Hindi of Dinkar's Play.

11. *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts,* 20, pp. 283-300. The same story is narrated in the 64th Pallava of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* (*Budd. Skt. Texts,* 23, pp. 387-410).

named Manoharā. The latter had a Cūḍāmaṇi of magical power. When the prince went on an expedition Dhana saw an evil dream that forecast his downfall. On the advice of a wicked minister of his, Dhana decided to immolate Manoharā to avert the calamity that was going to befall him. Manoharā, however, went back to her celestial abode with the Cūḍāmaṇi's help. The prince who came back successfully was dismayed at the loss of his beloved. He went about here and there and asked[12] the animals and birds regarding the whereabouts of Manoharā. Finally he saw a sage who gave him a ring that was deposited with him by Manoharā and also told him of the return of the Kinnarī to her heavenly residence. He further recounted the many hurdles that the prince had to overcome if he preferred to meet his beloved. The prince finally saw Manoharā and was united with her.

The Tamil versions[13] of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*, namely *Villi Bhārata* (Ādi, Kurukula Sarga, 7-13), *Cevvai Cūḍuvār Bhāgavata* (IX.12.1-28) and the *Bhāgavata* of Varadarāja Aiyangar (110.31-71) closely follow the respective Sanskrit originals. A few compositions of the present century however narrate incidents in the life of Purūravas that are not found in any Sanskrit version. Of these, the unpublished *Purūravacaritai*[14] in 27 cantos and 920 verses is by Aiyam Perumal Śivandakavirāyar.

The *Purūravacakravarttikathai*[15] in prose and the incomplete *Purūrava Nāṭakam*,[16] are both of unknown authorship but the

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6. Two verses from this context could be quoted here to show their similarities with those in the *Vikramorvaśīya*.

Bhoḥ pūrṇacandra rajanīkara tārarāja
tvam rohiṇī-nayanakānta susārthavāha /
kaccit priyā mama manoharaṇaikadakṣā
dṛṣṭā tvayā bhuvi manoharanāmadheyā //
He tvam kuraṅgi tṛṇa-vāri-palāśa-bhakṣe
svastyastu te cara sukham na mṛgārirasmi /
dīrghekṣaṇā mṛgavadhūkamanīya-rūpā
dṛṣṭā tvayā mama manohara-nāmadheyā //

13. Pp. 22-36, Introduction to *Purūrava Nāṭaka, Sarasvati Mahal Series* 16.
14. See M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Sen Tamil*, VI. 81-9, for an account.
15. Mss. in Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Tamil Descriptive Catalogue, No. 451; in Triennial Catalogue, No. 2402. The same is also Ptd., Ratna Nayakar and Sons, Madras 1.
16. Edn.—*Sarasvati Mahal Series* 16, pp. 53-111.

mention of names like Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa Chettiar and Dāmodaram Pillai in them shows that they were composed in the present century. These versions briefly refer to the association of Purūravas with Urvaśī but narrate in all details, the marriage of the king with a princess called differently as Vāsavadattai, Jayaprathai and Citraprabhai, the birth of two sons to them and the untold sufferings of the whole family due to the influence of Saturn on them. This prosaic story is indeed a far cry from the version in the *Ṛg Veda*, from which the legend gathered details little by little and got more and more fixed in the memory of people and provided the theme for poets and playwrights in Sanskrit and the regional languages not only in the past but also in modern times.

THE INDIAN FIGURINES FROM MEMPHIS

BY

T. BALAKRISHNAN NAYAR

The terracotta figurines which form the subject-matter of this study come from Memphis. Memphis was the capital of Egypt through most of its early history and from beginning to end it was a great centre of civilisation, government and trade. At the present day only ruins mark the site of that great city, rubbish mounds at Bedreshen on the western bank of the Nile, fourteen miles south of Cairo. After the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great the city quickly lost its supremacy to his new foundation, Alexandria.

During the season, 1907-8, the late Sir Flinders Petrie made a systematic exploration of the ruins of Bedreshen and among his finds not the least interesting was a large series of terracotta heads representing the characteristic features of the foreigners who thronged the bazars of Memphis: Persians, Medes, Scythians, Indians, Negroes and many others. They were almost all of them found in the foreign quarter, around the temple of King Proteus, described by Herodotus and identified with Meremptah of the XIX dynasty. The great majority of the heads are modelled and solid and belong to the Persian period of occupation of the city. The rest are moulded and hollow. Petrie dates the solid figures to the period 500 to 200 B.C.

Our figures are both solid and hollow. Petrie has described and discussed them in 'Memphis I' and in 'Man', 1908 and finally in his 'Seventy Years of Archaeology'. Students of Indian Archaeology, however, have not so far paid any attention to these figures which are the earliest representations that we have, outside India, of Indians in plastic art or sculpture.

During the 5th century B.C., i.e., from 525 to 405 B.C. Egypt was under Persian occupation. It was Cambyses who established Persian domination over it. Under Darius strong garrisons were

kept in the central city of Memphis. About 455 B.C. Herodotus visited Egypt in order to collect data for his great book. He made his longest stay at Memphis then at the acme of its greatness. The troops at Memphis consisted largely of Persians but far from exclusively. Herodotus speaks also of 'others' at Memphis.

To Cyrus is attributed the first Achaemenid conquest of Indian ground. Cyrus died in 529 B.C. Gandhara and Satagush (Punjab) are mentioned by Darius as forming part of the empire as he inherited it and therefore they must have been conquered by Cyrus the Great, and not by Darius. Darius's own conquest was Sind. Thus from the middle of the sixth century B.C. the Punjab seems to have been part of the Achaemenid empire.[1]

The garrison at Memphis included, in Herodotus's words 'others' besides the Persians.[2] And Indian soldiers were quite possibly amongst these 'others'. There were Indian contingents both cavalry and infantry in the army of Xerxes. They fought side by side with the Persians at Salamis and Plataea and when Mardonius picked the flower of his army to stay in Greece he took the Persian immortals, Medes, Sacae, Bactrians and Indians. These Indian contingents were probably drafted from the Memphis garrison and not from Gandhara or the Punjab directly.

Indian soldiers from Gandhara and the Punjab long in occupation of Memphis as part of the Persian garrison must have brought their womenfolk also to live with them and thus a small Indian colony would have sprung up in the city, comprising Indian soldiers, their women and children, Indian merchants trying to push their wares and perhaps also some Indian religious teachers

On the basis of the associated finds which include the heads of the Persian king, a Persian officer and the Scythian cavalry, Petrie has dated our solid modelled figures to the fifth century B.C., i.e., to the time when both the Indus and the Nile valleys were united under the Persian banner (525-405 B.C.). He has assigned our moulded figures to circa 200 B.C. which will approximately be the date for the long-necked amphora on which

1. Herzfeld, E. A new inscription of Darius from Hamadan, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 34.

2. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. IV, p. 24.

two of them lean and for the moulded Greek figures with which they are found.[3]

Petrie speaks of Indian settlements at Nippur in Babylonia as early as 425 B.C. He believes that settlements of Indians are mentioned in the Aswan papyri.[4] But Mr. G. A. Wainewright fears that the belief that Indian settlers are mentioned in the Aswan papyri is delusive.[5] However, it is more than probable that there was an Indian colony at Memphis. It must have arisen out of the presence of Indians in the Persian garrison stationed there. When the Persian occupation of Memphis ceased the Indian colony also would have ceased. But the connection between Memphis and India did not cease for good. After Alexander's invasion of India there was greater intercourse between the East and the West. Alexander conquered Memphis; it was relegated to a position second only to that of Alexandria. During the Ptolemaic period Alexandria was the capital of the empire, but Memphis continued to be an important city, a cosmopolitan, commercial and manufacturing city and it is quite likely that Indian merchants went there in the pursuit of trade in 'ivory, tortoise shell, pearls, pigments and dyes (especially indigo), rice and various spices e.g., pepper, nard, costum, malabathros, some rare woods, various medicinal substances and cotton and silk.'[6]

3. Man, VIII, 1908, No. 71.

4. Petrie, W. M. Flinders. Memphis I, London, 1909.

5. In the course of a letter written to me on December 20, 1937, Mr. G. A. Wainewright says: "As the papyri are written in Aramaic I went to Dr. Levine of Oriental Manuscript Department of the British Museum, who is a Hebrew scholar. What you have no doubt heard of is the word Hodav, which appears in the papyrus no. 12 of Cowley, 'Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C., (Oxford, 1923), which is the standard publication of the texts. It is however, a man's name occurring in a long list of names. The passage reads Oshea ben Hodav, i.e., Oshea son of Hodav. A superficial glance might easily confuse the word Hodav with the other word Hodu, India. You will see that the difference lies in the inclusion of an extra u or v in the man's name; nor can the word Hodav mean *the Indian,* which might very easily have been used to designate a man. The date of this papyrus is about 450-440 B.C. Dr. Levine and I were unable to find anything else which might suggest the presence of Indians at Aswan in those papyri".

6. Rostovtzeff. 'Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World' (1926), pp. 386, 387.

We know that the connection between India and Ptolemaic Egypt was intimate. Ptolemy Philadelphus sent Dionysius on an embassy to India and Pliny tells us that Dionysius on his return published details about the forces of the Indian nations. The patron of Dionysius was no other than Turamaya to whom Asoka says in his Rock Edict No. 13, he sent *dutas* to preach *dhamma*.

There is no doubt that in the third century B.C. Ptolemy II was importing Indian women into Egypt together with Indian dogs and cattle. At Koptos, the port of the Indian trade in the first century A.D. a very high import duty — as much as 108 drachmae in 90 A.D. during the period of Domitian — was levied on women for prostitution coming in from the Red Sea. This duty itself was probably a survival from Ptolemaic times. Philadelphus organised a grand procession, *pompe*, in order to celebrate his election as king.[7] In the procession were shown religious and symbolical groups. Picturesque chariots carried the wealth and wonder of India, Arabia and East Africa. Behind them followed carts drawn by mules. These displayed barbaric tents within which sat Indian and other women dressed as captives. Bevan[8] has suggested 278 B.C. for the date of the procession. Callixenus seems to suggest that Ptolemy Soter and Berenice participated in the procession. Since within a few months Ptolemy I died the procession probably took place in 285 B.C.[9] If we identify our female figurines with the Indian women in the spectacle organised by Philadelphus we will have to date them in the first

7. Callixenus in Athenaios, V, 201a; Petrie: Roman Portraits and Memphis IV, 1911; Petrie: Koptos, 1896, pp. 27, 28 and 31. Talking about Ptolemy II's coronation McCabe (The Golden Ages of History, London, 1940, pp. 66, 67) says: "Never before had there been such a promising coronation. From morn to dusk of a mild November day a stupendous procession paraded broad, marble-lined avenues on the site of the old waste... A large gold and ivory statue of Dionysos rode in a chariot at the head of a vintage-pageant which included 24 chariots containing gaily decked Hindu ladies and drawn by elephants and eighty chariots drawn by Asiatic antelopes, goats and wild asses. Hundreds of slaves carried strange birds in cages on boughs of trees and trays of perfumes and spices, or led thousands of Indian dogs on the leash." Athenaios speaks of 26 snow-white Indian oxen in the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Athenaios V, 196 seq) and peacocks in cages, dogs of Indian breed.

8. Bevan: Ptolemaic Dynasty.

9. Elgood: The Ptolemies of Egypt.

quarter of the third century B.C. though the evidence itself of the associated finds points to a much later date (circa 200 B.C.).

Why did Indian women appear in the pageant unless they had some special art to display in which they excelled other nationals? They could have been only dancing women. In the household or court of Apollonius, Minister of Finance to Ptolemy Philadelphus 'there were hundreds of servants, free and slaves, among them musicians and dancing girls'. Some of these dancing girls came from India like those who formed part of the procession of his master. Apollonius, we hear, had a large clothswork at Memphis where he would have removed with all his court and lived sometimes taking with him his dancing girls to the great delight of the citizens of Memphis.[10]

Figure 1(a) belongs to the group of solid figures from the Persian period. Petrie calls it Tibetan; we find that it has distinct Mongoloid features. Kapilavastu, the sub-Himalayan City-state of the Sakyas, to which Gautama the Buddha belonged and Lumbini where he was born lie across the area of specialisation of the Indo-Mongoloids in India and the Sakyas like the Lichchavis their contemporaries in north Bihar, must be regarded as having been of pure or of mixed Mongoloid origin. If the Sakyas were Indo-Mongoloids, then Gautama the Buddha, born amongst them, must also have been an Indo-Mongoloid—ethnically very much like the present day Gurkhas of Nepal.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says that Buddha 'for aught we know was of pure or mixed Indo-Mongoloid origin' and wonders whether behind the response given to the teachings of the Buddha by the Mongoloid people of South-east Asia and of Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, there is not an ethnic connection."[11]

The head of our Buddha is shaven, but shows a top-knot rather flattened, which in later Indian art stood for the Uṣṇīṣa. Like any other prince during his time Gautama the Buddha also must have had his long hair gathered up in a chignon on top of his head. A Buddhist monk wears a full tonsure; but our figure

10. Petrie: Memphis I, Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXIX, 35.
11. Kirata-Jana-kriti, the Indo-Mongoloids, their contribution to the History and Culture of India. S. K. Chatterji, 1951, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

has a truncated chignon which reminds us of an incident which occurred on the morning after Gautama had left Kapilavastu for the forests. Just before Channa, the charioteer, who had followed him in his nocturnal flight, took leave of him early next morning Gautama the Buddha is said to have taken out from his hands a sharp sword that he was carrying and with it severed his (Gautama's) long locks.

Kings before their abdication according to the Jataka tales are said to have cut off their top-knots. We have for example the story of Sōmakumāra, son of Brahmadatta, who climbed to the top of the Palace of Flowers and standing on the seventh storey cut off with a sword his top-knot and cried to the people below, 'I am now nothing to you. Choose ye a king of your own.' Our figure has a truncated chignon at the top of his crown and were it not for the chignon, confusion with any other monk would have been inevitable.

The older tradition which is found in the Subha-sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya refers to Gautama as a *muṇḍaka* or a shaven-headed monk. The tradition that he cut his hair with a sword leaving a part of it intact on the head is no doubt later in point of time: but it records probably a significant fact in the life history of the Master considering that other Kings who abdicated their thrones are said to have done the same thing according to the Jataka tales.

There is no canonical proscription of images in Buddhist literature, neither early nor later, and in fact Buddhist authors take it for granted that images of the Buddha had been made even in the Buddha's own lifetime. In early Buddhist art in India, however, we do not get the representation of the person of the Buddha. At Barhut and Sanchi, where we get the life history of the Buddha delineated in detail, there is no actual Buddha figure. The Graeco-Bactrian type of Buddha from Gandhara which is but the Apollo type of the Alexandrian period can by no means be considered the representation of the real Buddha, for was not Gautama the Buddha born among the Sakyas, a people of Indo-Mongoloid origin? The face of the Master must have been irretrievably lost in the course of the four or five centuries between his *parinirvāṇa* and the fabrication of the Buddha head at Gandhara and it is no wonder that attempts made

during the time of the Chinese pilgrims subsequently to establish authentic representations of the Master should have ended in failure. When we remember that our figure belongs to the fifth century B.C. the century of the Buddha's death, it is but legitimate that it should be reminiscent of the Master in a greater measure than figures that belong to the 1st century B.C. and later.

Gautama during his life-time, it is believed, did not preach outside Uttar Pradesh. There is no record of any visit made by him to the *Macchas* whose territory was situated on the western bank of the Jamuna. According to the canonical books, he is said to have visited the townships of Kammassadhamma and Thullakottika located in what is present-day Bihar in the land of the Kuru clan (between Jamuna on the west and Kosala on the east) and since the Punjab or Satagush bordered on the Ganges-Jamuna doab to its west, it is not unlikely that during the Buddha's visit to the townships mentioned, some of the people of the Punjab who later formed part of the Indian colony at Memphis had occasion to see him. And furthermore if we should take that Gaotama, the heretic, disputes with whom Zoroastrian scriptures allude to is the same as Gautama the Buddha, then some Persians at any rate might have seen him. Even granting that Buddha did not go beyond the Ganges-Jamuna doab towards the west and the Persians never had any disputes with him, it was still quite possible that after the Master's death some of his disciples repaired to Taxila in Gandhara and the Gandharioi and the people of Satagush (Punjab) got some idea as to how the Buddha in life looked like. During part of his lifetime and for many years after his death, the Persian dominion in India included Gandhara and the Punjab, and the people of Gandhara, a country to which we get numerous references in the earliest Buddhist literature, might have become his followers quite early and among the Gandharioi and the people of Satagush, who accounted for most of the Indian colony at Memphis, there were probably quite a few who were followers of the Buddha. In their wake Buddhist monks would have also found their way to Memphis.[12] To the Indians settled at Memphis in the fifth cen-

12. That Buddhist Arhats reached Alexandria of the Ptolemies is known from a reference to their presence along with others at the foundation laying ceremony of the mahāthūpa at Suvaṇṇamāli in Lanka. Mahavamsa ch. 29-30, 45.

Fig. 1(a)

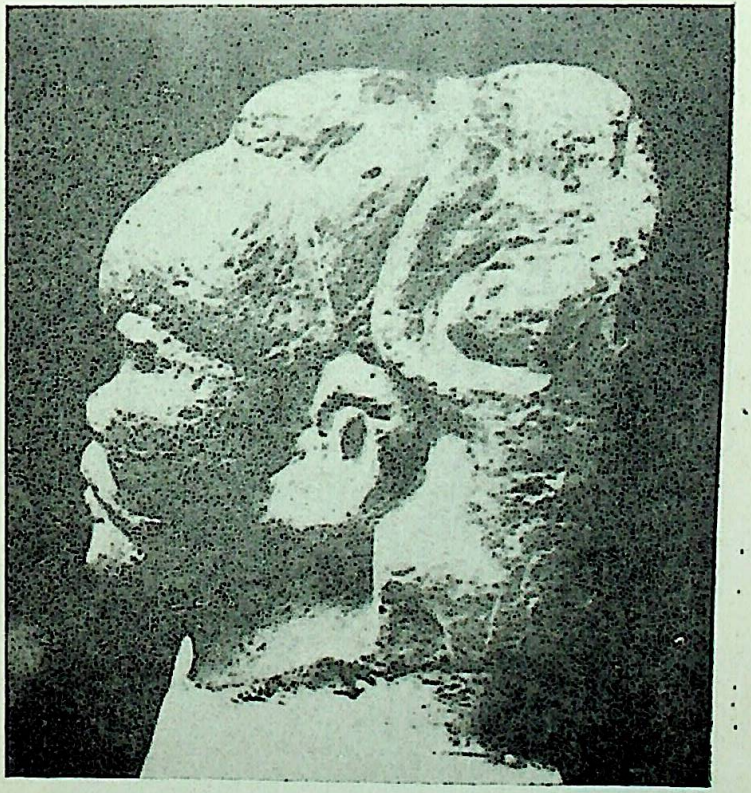

Fig. 1(b)

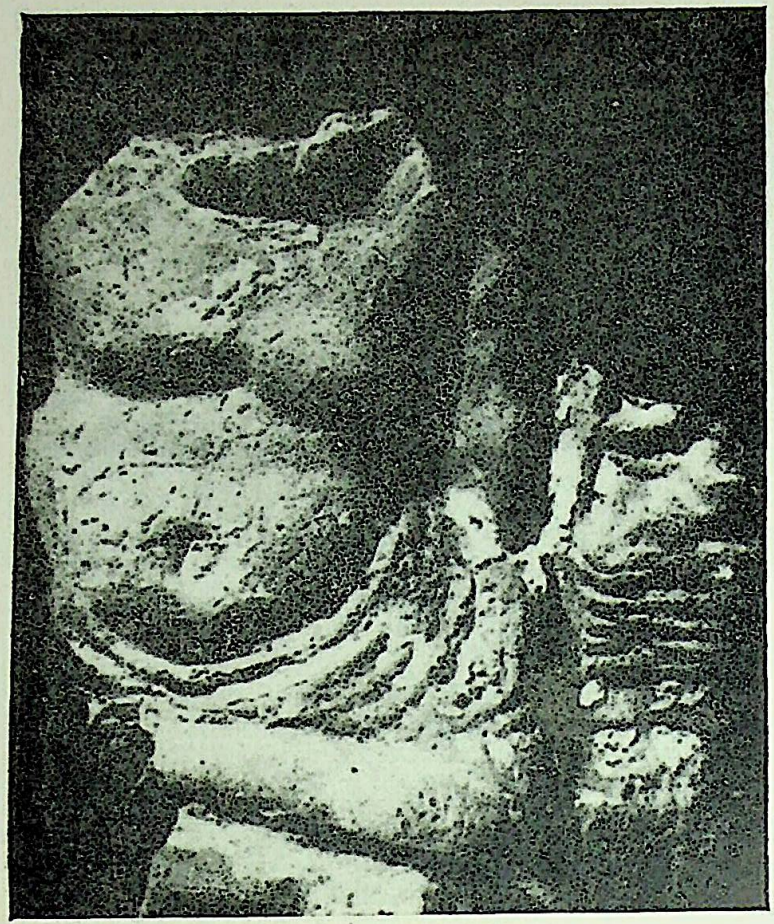

Fig. 2

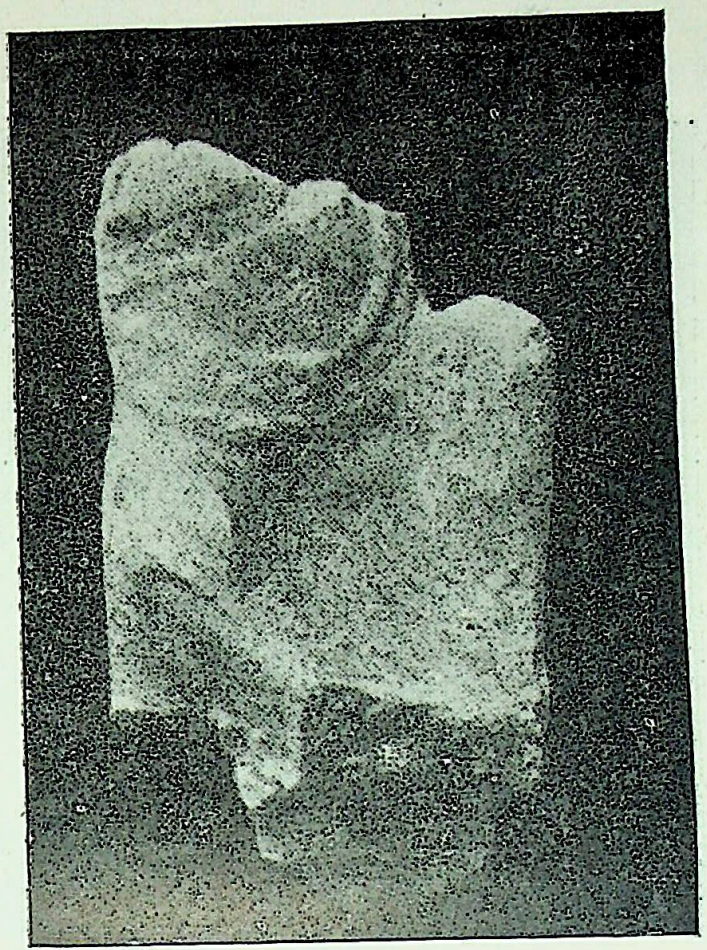

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

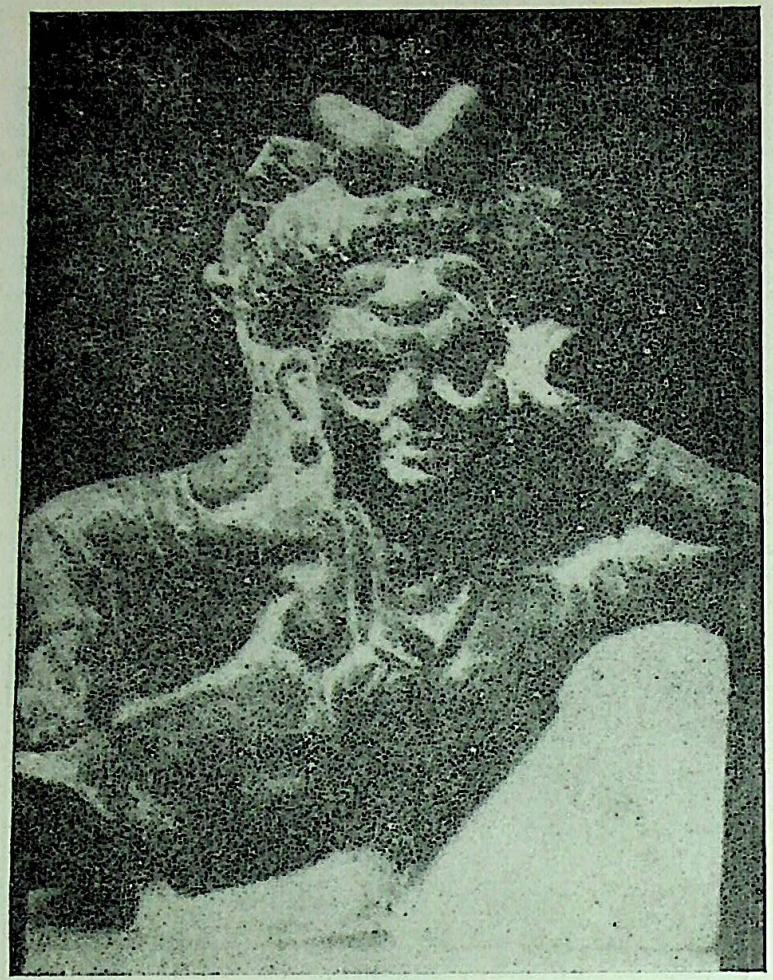

Fig. 6

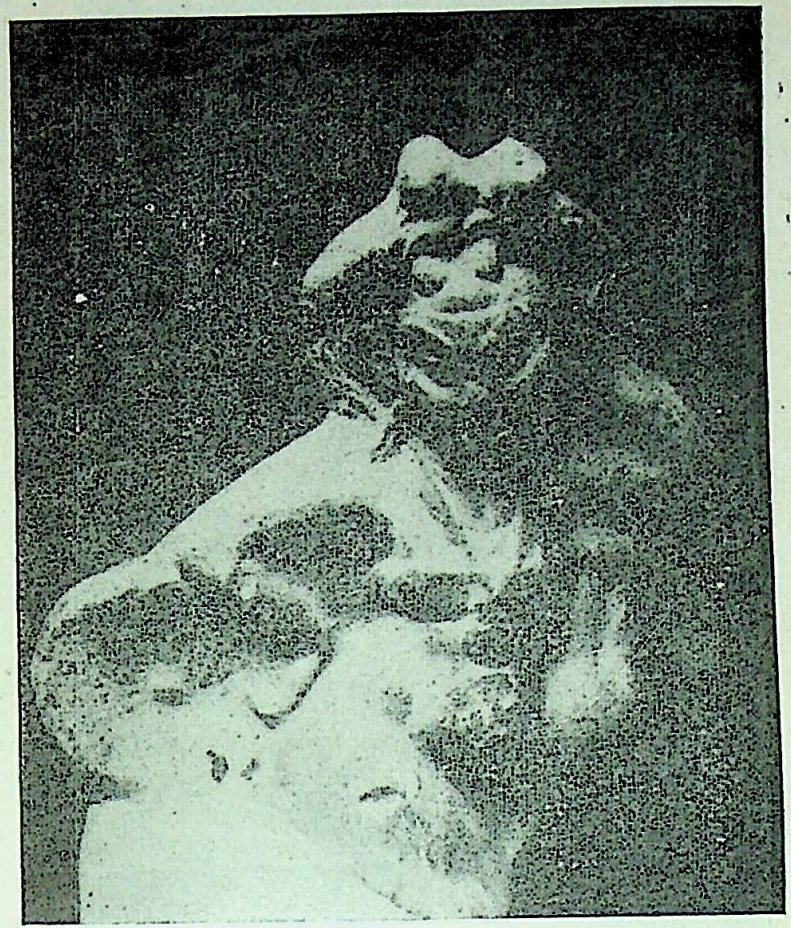

Fig. 7(a)

Fig. 7(b)

Fig. 8

tury B.C., the face of the Master thus could have been still fresh and not blurred irretrievably in the mists of the past when attempts were made to recapture it in Gandhara in the first century B.C. or at Mathura in the 1st century A.D.

What gives us additional support in our identification of the head here illustrated as Buddha head is the presence of an ape on either side of it. See fig. 1 (b). If the head represented merely a particular Indian type, the presence of the ape defies explanation. But if it is the Buddha head, apes are easily explained. Buddha himself in two of his former births was an ape.[13] He had monkey friends who dug out a pool for him at Vaisali. There is the legend of the monkeys who took away his alms-bowl and brought it back to him filled with wild honey.

Again it will be recalled that at Barhut we have the representation of some capital monkeys sitting like good little boys and listening to the Bodhisattva. The story of Buddha's ape incarnation must have appealed greatly to the imagination of the Egyptians. There are numerous references to apes in Egyptian art and literature. The Sun god in the tenth hour of his journey was believed to have taken the form of a cynocephalus. The cynocephalus was first a holy animal of Thoth and symbolised balance or equanimity. In certain magical and semi-magical pictures we find the animal associated with Sun-god Amon. The Metternich stele of the fourth century B.C. shows at its top a scene in which eight cynocephali worship with upraised forepaws the symbol of Amon. Again on another stele in the Museum of Geneva, there are two cynocephali standing on either side of an aedicula representing probably a shrine to the Sun.[14]

How did it happen that when there was no representation of the Buddha in Indian art, the Indians of Memphis made his head

13. For Bodhisattva as a monkey see Jataka, edited by Cowell, E. B., vol. I, No. 58, p. 144. The Jataka stories are as old as the council of Vaisali which met in the beginning of the 4th century B.C. and therefore it is not unlikely that they were also well-known among the Indians at the time to which the Memphis Buddha relates.

14. Mcdermott, William Coffman: The Ape in Antiquity, Baltimore, 1938. The John Hopkins Press, p. 7 ff.

in the century of his death? Whatever the reasons that the Indians had for avoiding the representation of the person of the Buddha they were not valid in a foreign land; not at Gandhara but at Memphis probably started the defiance of the Buddhist tradition. That would mean that in the figure we have the lost prototype of the Buddha.

Fig. 2[15] is headless. It is cross-legged with drapery round the waist and seems to have been a bearded figure. Its pot belly and massive appearance indicate that the figure was probably intended for Kubera. The presence of Kubera figures among merchants needs no special explanation. As they did in Khotan, in Memphis too the Indian settlers probably worshipped Kubera. Kautilya, it will be remembered, speaks of the worship of Vaiśravaṇa Mahā Kaccha as one of the religious observances which had already been given up by the people in his time.[16] Originally this figure seems to have been part of a group of two. Only a fragment of the figure on its left remains. All that we can discern is what looks like a snake trailing up and we do not know if there was sitting on it Kubera's consort Hariti.

Fig. 3[17] like Fig. 2 is seated and cross-legged with drapery round the waist, but is in a more damaged state.

Fig. 4[18] is again headless. It is seated on what looks like a snake, with knees drawn up in the characteristic fashion of the Dhyani Bodhisattvas of Gandhara and with a scarf over the left shoulder. It has generally been accepted that the whole doctrine of Dhyani Bodhisattvas rests on the Zoroastrian theory of the Fravashi.[19] Probably we have in this figure the iconographic representation of the Bodhisattva. Bodhisattvas constitute the bed-rock on which Mahayanism is built up and Mahayanism started not as is generally supposed after the days of Asoka, but in the fifth century B.C. itself owing to the impact of Zoroastrian beliefs on Buddhism.

15. Petrie: Memphis I. Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXXIX, 37.
16. Arthasastra: II, 4 and IV, 3.
17. Petrie: Memphis I. Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXXIX, 38.
18. Petrie: Memphis I. Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXXIX, 40.
19. Grunwedel, Gibson and Burgess: Buddhist Art in India, p. 195.

Fig. 5[20] belongs to the same category as Fig. 4. It has the knees raised and there is a scarf thrown over the left shoulder.

These solid figures from Memphis perhaps are the forerunners of the Gandhara Kuberas and Bodhisattvas respectively. Our hollow figures belong to the Ptolemaic period. Fig. 6 is that of a girl in an easy reclining pose. She has arm-bands and bracelets and a necklace with a pendant. The hair is taken backwards in loose locks which fall on the shoulders and she wears what looks like a coil of snakes for a crown. The necklace is similar to that which a terracotta figurine from Basarh wears.[21] This fact along with the facial type which is eastern Indian would give her a place of origin round about Magadha. One of the Gandhara figures from Sikri has a similar necklace.[22] The crown of coiled snakes which the Memphis figure wears finds comparison in the sculptures of Gandhara. The Indians in the Gandhara sculptures did not all of them belong to a single type. They are people from different parts of India. The head-dress of the woman third from the left on the upper half of the relief-sculpture from Gandhara, now in the Lahore Museum, representing the birth of Siddhartha, is similar to our girl's.[23] The flower-girl on the extreme left in a relief group representing Dipankara Jataka, again from Gandhara has coiffure and head-dress similar to ours.

Fig. 7(a)[24] Petrie calls the 'Aryan Punjabi type' though between this and Fig. 6 there does not seem to exist any ethnic difference. The necklace in this case is different and defeats comparison and the breast-band does not find a parallel in the whole range of early Indian art, although from the Sigiriya frescoes from Ceylon contemporary with Ajanta we find women wearing it. It will be noticed that the woman has her hip raised high. She is practically nude. That may be the reason why she has put on a rather coy countenance. She is leaning on a long-necked amphora. There is a disc flanking her right arm, the arm itself resting on her hip.

20. Petrie: Memphis I. Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXXIX, 39.
21. Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1913-14, Pl. XLIV, 475.
22. Burgess: The Gandhara Sculptures, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. VIII, Gandhara Sculptures from Sikri, pl. 8, fig. 2.
23. *Ibid*: Pl. 8, fig. 4.
24. Petrie: Memphis I. Terracotta figurines of Indians, Pl. XXXIX, 36.

We wonder if the disc could have been an instrument to beat time. It is a disc and not a cushion, the concavity of the face precluding such a possibility. The temptation to identify the disc with the Buddhist wheel of life is indeed strong, particularly as Hiro or Heron of Alexandria who lived in the reigns of Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes refers to revolving wheels of bronze placed in the portico of Egyptian temples for those who entered to turn round. Petrie thought that these wheels were derived from India. In fact he found a Ptolemaic grave stone with figures of a wheel and a trident carved upon it.[25] These figures though unknown to Egypt before the Ptolemaic period were probably already significant items in the corpus of Buddhist religious symbols in contemporary India. It must however be pointed out that their first representation in stone at Barhut and Sanchi cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the second century B.C.

Fig. 7 (b) is the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 8 is similar to Fig. 7 except that the disc flanking the right arm is missing. An interesting similarity noticeable on this figure as well as on the two previous ones is the exaggerated navel-line. Such an exaggerated navel-line is sometimes met with on sculptures from Gandhara. In the group showing Sibi Jataka the person holding the balance and the person to the extreme right show navel-lines.[26]

Our female figures as already noticed wear a crown of coiled snakes. Probably they represent Naginis. The Nagas were famous for their music.[27] Naga maidens were noted for their beauty. Very likely the Indian women found in the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus were Naginis who hailed from Magadha,[28] for the population of Magadha during the period of the Buddha and for

25. Simpson, William: The Buddhist Praying Wheel, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1898, pp. 874, 875.

26. Barnett, L. D.: Antiquities of India. The Sibi Jataka.

27. "The liberality with which the Ptolemies rewarded the victors in the musical competitions and the splendour of their festivals attracted poets, musicians and artists of the most varied kinds to Alexandria"—Wilcken, Ulrich: Alexander the Great, p. 303.

28. Keny, L. B.: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. 28, 1942.

a long time afterwards was largely made up of Naga tribes. The Nagas were a great maritime people. They had a very early trade with the Persian gulf[29] and maybe they were also the first to attempt the sea-route to Egypt after Dionysius had explained the advantages of sea-borne over land-borne transport at the Mauryan court.

Petrie at first thought that these figures were the work of mixed Graeco-Egyptian artists. But in the light of what Gabet and Huc have said about a custom prevalent in Tibet[30] he revised his judgment. The modelled terracotta heads were all of them found in the foreign quarter at Memphis and included portraits of Indians, Persians, Kurds, Scythians, Hebrews, Sumerians, Karians, Greeks of Asia Minor, Macedonians and even Spaniards or Sardinians. While the Egyptian at all times showed great taste for representing foreigners, the Tibetan custom in question seems to indicate that it was neither the Egyptian nor the Greek whose dislike for the barbarian was intense but the Indian himself who displayed a passion for delineating ethnic figures. According to Gabet and Huc there is in Tibet an annual Buddhist festival in the course of which figures are modelled of all peoples to whom Buddhism has been preached so that they may all of them participate in it. At the close of the festival the figures are thrown away. 'Such a customs,' as Petric says, 'would exactly account for the Memphis heads and the whole figures being Indian.' In the period following Cyrus's conquest when the Achaemenid empire extended from the valley of the Indus to the valley of the Nile there must have been a westward flow of religious influence from India to Egypt; for otherwise it will not be possible to account for the appearance in Egyptian religion of the doctrine of metempsychosis about 500 B.C.[31] To begin with the influence was not specifically Buddhist, but simply Indian, but with the spread of Buddhism beyond the land of its birth, still newer elements like asceticism, celibacy and meditation reached Egypt. The discovery of Indian heads at Memphis together with the presence of large numbers of Indians with the Persian garrison at Memphis suggests that such a festival as described by Gabet and Huc was held on

29. Oldham: The Sun and the Serpent, p. 166.
30. Petrie, Sir Flinders: Seventy years of Archaeology, p. 213.
31. Elliot: Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 430.

Egyptian soil and incidentally that Buddhism was known to the West long before the time of Asoka.

Faint and indistinct echoes of such a festival may probably be traced back to the days immediately following the demise of the Buddha if not to the period itself of his existence. On two occasions we are told the Lord had his portrait sent first to Reruka and the second time to princess Muktalata of Ceylon.[32] Even if we are inclined to dismiss these stories as late concoctions by the faithful after the cult of the Buddha had become firmly established, the legend of Sthavira Upagupta and Māra "suggests that need was already felt for presenting the image of the Master soon after the latter's demise though the practice itself had not yet obtained canonical sanction."[33] And the need arose earlier in distant Egypt than in near India.

32. Gangoly, O. C.: The Antiquity of the Buddha image. The cult of the Buddha. Ostasiastische Zeitschrift, 1938, p. 48 for reference to the legends in question.

33. *Ibid*: p. 49.

MAHENDRA'S INSCRIPTION AT TIRUCHIRAPALLI – A STUDY

BY

R. NAGASWAMY, M.A.

Mahendra's contribution to the development of South Indian culture is unparallelled in the field of art, music, painting and literature. He is the pioneer in propagating cave architecture in the Tamil country. His work on music is well-known. The *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* composed by him is one of the best *prahasanas* in Sanskrit literature. His love of painting and his proficiency in the art is attested by his title *Chitrakārapuli*. Among the monuments he has left, the upper rock-cut cave at Tiruchirapalli, called *Lalitāṅkura-Pallaveśvara-gṛham*, named after one of his titles, is unique and is a landmark in the study of South Indian art and culture, for it is here that the best representation of sculpture of Mahendra is noticed in the Gaṅgādhara panel. There is here a unique example of Mahendra's inscription expressed in ornate poetry. The second verse of this inscription has been a puzzle to students of history and art. It is in this verse that his embrace of Śaivism is referred to.

A study of the second verse of Mahendra's inscription in this cave is as much fascinating as it is important for the study of Śiva worship in South India. A re-examination of this verse is all the more necessary since some recent writers have suggested that the installation of Śiva-liṅga in the sanctum sanctorum as the principal object of worship was unknown in the time of Mahendra. If the meaning of the second verse of Tiruchirapalli rock-cut cave is once properly understood, all doubts regarding the worship of Liṅga during the reign of Mahendra will be set at rest.

The verse under discussion reads as follows:

Guṇabhara-nāmani rāja-
nyanena liṅgena liṅgini jñānam |
Prathatām cirāya loke
vipakṣavṛtteḥ parāvṛttam ||

In the verse under discussion, that *ślesha* (*double entendre*) is employed is patent. There are therefore necessarily two meanings which are to be understood here. The words *Liṅga*, *Liṅgin*, *Jñāna* and *Vipakṣa* have two meanings. Liṅga means Śivaliṅga and Liṅga means also *hetu*, reason, middle term or probans in an Inference. Since the word is employed in *ślesha*, both the meanings should be taken into account and one of the two viz., Śivaliṅga, should not be rejected as is done by the protogonists of the view that Liṅga worship was not prevalent during the time of Mahendra Varman I. It is not only the word Liṅga that is used here in *ślesha* but the whole verse is, as stated above, in *ślesha*, giving rise to two meanings. If one meaning alone is accepted and the other rejected, it would mean that the composition is faulty. When the second import is quite meaningful, to brand this verse as a faulty composition will not be proper. Hence in this case both the meanings have to be accepted.

The first meaning of the verse is as follows:

anena liṅgena: Through the Śivaliṅga (established) here,
Guṇabhara-nāmani rājani: in the king named Guṇabhara,
liṅgini: who bears the Liṅga (i.e. constantly adores Śiva)
jñānam: the knowledge
vipakshavṛtteḥ parāvṛttam: that he has turned away from the hostile faith
loke chirāya prathatām: let it become well known in the world for long.

There is a clear reference here to Mahendra's conversion, from Jainism to Śaivism in the words *Vipakshavṛtteḥ parāvṛttam*. There is also an unequivocal reference to the worship of Śivaliṅga in the terms *Liṅga* and *Liṅgin*, Lingin meaning one who bears the Liṅga, i.e. worships Liṅga.

The second meaning of the verse will become evident when it is understood in terms of the process of inference,[1] in which it

1. Inferential cognition is accepted as a valid cognition by all systems of Indian philosophy. A syllogism employed in this process of cognition comprises the following elements:
(1) *Hetu* or *Liṅga* or the probans or the reason or the middle term e.g. smoke.

is couched. The King Guṇabhara is given here as the *Liṅgin* and he is also the *Paksha* (the major and minor terms), i.e. the subject or minor term in whom the *Sādhya* (probandum or major term) is sought to be proved or in other words, he who is sought to be proved as possessing the probandum, in this case knowledge, *jñāna,* related to Śiva. If the date and antiquity of inscription is borne in mind, it could be appreciated that the elements of the inference are stated here in the terminology of *prāchīna* (ancient) *nyāya* and not of modern logic. According to Gautama, the author of the *Nyāya sūtras,* the first limb of a syllogism, the statement of the thesis called *Partijñā* is given as *Sādhya-nirdeśa* and this includes the minor and major terms.[2] The invariable relation between the *Liṅga* or probans or middle term, in this case between the Śivaliṅga established by the King in that temple, and the *Liṅgin,* the major term, viz., the knowledge of Śiva as existing in the King (the *Paksha* or minor term) should be free from any flaw; one of the flaws which would vitiate the inference is the presence of this in a counter-example; i.e., it should be *vipaksha-vyāvṛtta;* in the present case, this Śivaliṅga and knowledge and devotion to the same are absent from Jainism.[3]

King Mahendra Vikrama was evidently a lover of logic. Along with the other well-known titles related to his artistic activities *Chēttakāri, Saṅkīrṇajāti* and *Chitrakārapuli,* he assumed a significant title to commemorate his love for logic, viz., *Anumāna.* This title is recorded in the middle of the second pillar in the same cave temple of Tiruchirapalli. The same is also mentioned in the Pallavaram cave of Mahendra, where besides the title *Anumāna,*

(2) *Sādhya or Liṅgin* the probandum or major term which is to be established, e.g. fire.

(3) *Paksha* the subject in which the probandum is not known and is to be proved, e.g. a mountain as having fire when smoke which is noticed is relied upon as the *probans.*

(4) *Sapaksha* a similar instance in which the *probandum* is known for certain, e.g. hearth where smoke and fire had been seen together invariably.

(5) *Vipaksha* a counter example in which the non-existence of the probandum is known for certain e.g., a tank where neither fire nor its concomitant smoke is known.

2. See also Mudrārākshasa Nāṭaka, V. 10 *Sādhye niśchitam* etc.

3. I am thankful to my Professor, Dr. Raghavan, for clarifying the correct and complete meaning of the verse, particularly on the side of logic.

the title *Upamāna* is also noticed which again proves his love for logic. Thus we may say that in the second meaning of the verse, the King himself is inferred as *Anumāna.*

This is further substantiated by other evidences.

According to Śekkiḻār, a 12th century poet, the Śaivite saint Appar, also known as Tirunāvukkarasu, was a contemporary of a Pallava monarch whom he converted to Śaivism. All evidences point to the fact that Appar lived in 7th Century A.D. Mahendra I, Narasiṁha I, Mahendra II and Parameśvaravarman I were the Pallava monarchs who ruled in 7th Century A.D.

It is only in the Trichy inscription of Mahendra I, we have a positive reference to his conversion to Saivism from some other faith, while the inscriptions of other monarchs portray them as great Saivites. Thus we have both epigraphical and literary references, pointing to the contemporaneity of Saint Appar and Mahendra.

In many of his verses, Appar mentions the worship of Śiva in the form liṅga.

காயமே கோயிலாக கடிமனம் அடிமையாக
வாய்மையே தூய்மையாக மனம் மணி இலிங்கமாக
நேயமே நெய்யும் பாலா நிறைய நீர் அமைய ஆட்டிப்
பூசனை ஈசனுர்க்குப் போற்றவிக் காட்டிஞேமே.

—அப்பர்.

It is therefore evident that the worship of Śiva in the form of liṅga was well established long before the time of Appar and Mahendra.

Thus the second verse of Mahendra, at Tiruchirapalli, is of historic interest. It refers to the conversion of Mahendra to Śaivism. It illustrates his love for logic and above all it points to the state of Śaivism in Tamil country in early 7th Century A.D.

THE RIVER "PRĒHARĀ"

BY

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO
Nagpur

The origin of the Kadambas and their rise to power were mixed up with various legendary stories until Lewis Rice discovered the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman,[1] a king of this dynasty. This interesting record gives an account of how Mayūraśarman, an early ruler of this family obtained from the Pallavas a territory stretching from the western ocean to a certain limit. The name of this limit was read by Rice as Prēmāra, though he did not say whether it stood for the name of a town, a country or a river. But Kielhorn who edited[2] the record later in the *Epigraphia Indica* read the passage giving this information as follows:—*Bhaṅgur — ōrmi-valgitair = nṛityad — aparārṇṇav — āmbhah-kṛit — avadhim Prēhar — āntām = ananya — saṁchara-ṇa — samaya — sthitāṅ bhūmim = ēva cha.*

He translated it thus:—"And (*he*) also (*received*) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara, secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it." He pointed out that the correct reading of the name of the aforesaid limit was *Prēhara* and not *Prēmāra*. He was not sure, however, whether the name ended in long *ā* (i.e. Prēharā) or short *a* (i.e. Prēhara), but thought that the limit might probably be the Tungabhadrā, though he could not in any way connect the word *Prēharā* or *Prēhara* with the river and was unable to suggest an explanation. Nor was he sure whether *Prēharā* or *Prēhara* "should denote a river more than anything else."

It was Dr. V. Raghavan,[3] who first pointed out that *Prēharā* (with long ā) is the correct form of the word and that it is the

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII. Sk. 176.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. pp. 24 ff.
3. *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, Vol. V, Part 2.

name of a river. He based this conclusion on literary evidence found in the work called *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin.[4] From it he quoted a passage which deals with the sporting in different rivers of the elephants which dwelt in the Aparānta forest. The relevant portion is given below:—

Vāraṇapatayaḥ tē = mī punar = Aparāntaka-vana-bhuvaḥ Preharā-Murara (la) yoḥ Bhō (Gō) davarī-Dāruvarṇayōḥ ..... anyāsu cha mahānadīshu labdha-ratayaḥ etc.

It would be seen from the extract that Prēhara and Muralā are two rivers in the vicinity of the Aparānta region. He has not, however, identified the river Prēharā.[5]

In this connection I venture to offer a suggestion for the consideration of scholars. It seems to me that *Prēhara* is the Sanskritised form of the Dravidian word *Pērāṟu*. Such Sanskritisation of names is not uncommon. While editing the Aihoḷe inscription[6] of Pulakēśin II Kielhorn observed that Kunāḷa in the record is another form of Kolanu which must undoubtedly be connected with the Kollēru lake. Uṟaiyūr, the ancient capital of the Chōḷas, is mentioned as Uragapura in an inscription[7] of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēśin II. In a bilingual inscription at Bādāmi[8] of the king Vijayāditya of the same family, the name of the town is given as Bādāvi in the Kannaḍa portion of the record while it is given in its Sanskritised form as Vātāpi in the Sanskrit portion. In the Guḍimallam copper-plate inscription[9] of the Bāṇa King Vikramāditya II, the Sanskrit equivalent of the place name Tiruvippirambēḍu is given as Viprapīṭha. Another copper-plate grant[10] states that Gadagu, called Gaḷdugu in some Kannaḍa inscriptions, was otherwise known as Kratupura. On the same analogy it would not be difficult to consider that *Prēharā* is another form of *Pērāṟu*.

4. See Ed. Note at end.
5. See Ed. Note at end.
6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 3.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 105.
8. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 60.
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, p. 2.
10. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25, part II, para 30.

Now *Pērāṟu* with its Kannaḍa variant *Perdoṛe* or *Peḷdoṛe* means "a great river". Both the Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa forms *viz., Pērāṟu* and *Perdoṛe* occur in a number of inscriptions. While *Pērāṟu* is found in the inscriptions of the *Chōḷas*[11] and the Pāṇḍyas,[12] *Perdoṛe* or *Peḷdoṛe* is found in Western Ganga, Rāshṭrakūṭa and Western Chālukya records.[13] Pērāṟu or Perdoṛe is generally considered to be the river Kṛishṇā.[14] In a few inscriptions this Kṛishṇā river is called *mahānadī* i.e., the great river, which is the exact equivalent of Pērāṟu or Perdoṛe. And Perdoṛe or Peḷdoṛe is used to denote the Kṛishṇā, without even requiring to be attached to the name of the river.[15] Accordingly the river Prēharā occuring in the Tāḷagunda inscription mentioned above and the literary work *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin is to be regarded as the Kṛishṇā. Consequently one of the limits of the Kadamba territory acquired by Mayūraśarman from the Pallavas could be the river Kṛishṇā. However, *Avantisundarī* mentions *Prēharā* as being in the vicinity of Aparānta, which is usually identified with North Koṅkaṇ. But it must be remembered that the Kadamba territory never extended so far. So the word Aparānta is to be taken in its literal and wider sense of "the western border (*apara-anta*)". It would then refer to the whole strip of the country lying between the Western Ghats and the sea. Bhagawanlal Indraji who has discussed this point, has said[16] that according to Varāhamihira, Aparānta is a western country and according to the commentary of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* it is the coast of the western ocean. He has further stated that it corresponds to the modern Koṅkaṇa, the district extending from Gōkaṛṇa in the Kārwar collectorate to Daman Gaṅgā, the frontier 'river of Gujarāt' or perhaps even further north to the Tāpī. He has also pointed out that in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* too Aparānta is described as the country between the Sahyādri range and the ocean. If the term

11. See for example *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 127; Vol. VII, Nos. 885, 886.

12. *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, Part II, para 18.

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 259; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, No. 38; *Ibid*, No. 116.

14. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 297.

15. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1933-34, Bombay Karnatak Inscription No. 167; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, p. 372.

16. *Indian Antiquary*, Oct. 1878, pp. 259 ff.

Aparānta is thus to be applied to the whole of the western seaboard extending from Gōkarṇa to the Tāpī, the river Kṛishṇā which rises in the Sahyādri range, could easily be considered to be one of the rivers flowing near the Aparānta region. There would therefore be no difficulty in identifying the *Prēharā* with the Kṛishṇā. This view of mine finds support in the observation of Fleet regarding the north-eastern limit of the Kadamba Kingdom. He says: "An inscription at the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhā near Koṇṇūr in the Gōkāk taluka, Belgaum District, has brought to notice another Kadamba name, that of Dāmōdara, and may perhaps indicate the point to the north-east, to which the Kadamba territory extended".[17] And it is worthy of note that the Kṛishṇā river is only about thirty to thirtyfive miles from the Ghaṭaprabhā falls. All this would show that the river Kṛishṇā was one of the boundaries of the Kadamba Kingdom and that it is referred to by its popular name of *Prēharā* (Pērāṟu) in the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscriptions.*

17. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 290.

* *Ed. Note*: Dr. Raghavan had followed up his article on Preharā in the *Annals of Ori. Res., Uni. of Madras*, with a further note in the *Indian Geographical Journal*, XIX.ii. (April-June 1944) pp. 84-5. There he had added another reference to Preharā among Aparānta-rivers in a description in Jinasena's *Pūrvapurāṇa* and had also suggested its identification with Pravarā starting from the Trimbak hill down below Nasik and falling into the Godāvarī at the place known as Pravarā-samgam.

A UNIQUE BHAIRAVA IMAGE FROM NAGATTI

by

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt.,

During my archaeological explorations in the Tanjore district in the summer of 1965 I happened to discover a unique group of Cōḷa sculptures in a dilapidated temple at Nagatti, a village about eight miles from Tanjore. The whole of the Tanjore district in general, and places within close proximity to Tanjore in particular, are remarkably rich in Cōḷa sculptures which are either under worship in temples or kept loosely in a lamentable state of negligence inside or outside some temples. The group under discussion is a fairly bold relief and has escaped the ravages of time and other destructive agencies like mutilation and the coating of blackened oil. A close study of the sculptures reveals that they have not been finished. They do not seem to be under regular worship.

The identity of the principal figure in the group is intriguing. It is the carving of a seated male figure flanked by a standing female figure on the left and a seated dog on the right. The main image is seated on a rectangular *bhadrāsana* with the left leg freely hanging down and the right one placed on the *āsana* itself with a bend at the knee. The right arm which is placed on the knee of the right leg is extended while the left arm is simply placed on the *āsana*. It is significant that the image has only two arms and they do not hold any iconographic cognizance. It wears a large *jaṭābhāra* and *kuṇḍalas*, armlets and wristlets. The *yajñopavīta* is a thick cord with the characteristic clasp on the left chest. The drapery is simple and consists of a *kaṭisūtra* with two loops across the front, one above the other, of which the lower one dips quite low with recurved ends. In the centre of the *kaṭisūtra* is a tight knot with intricate working which was to become a *kīrtimukha* at a later date. The female figure on the left which is less finished than the main image is also two

armed, the right arm holding a flower, and the left being placed above the thigh in the akimbo fashion. The dog on the right has prominent ears and its parts below the neck are not finished.

Stylistically the sculpture can be broadly categorised as Cōḷa. But strictly speaking the Cōḷa rule in the Tanjore region seems to have started only in the years immediately preceding 871 A.D.—the date of Āditya I's accession—the reign of Vijayālaya being rather short, as may be judged from the fact that the Muttaraiyars were very powerful in the region prior to the ascendancy of the Cōḷas. In fact Muttaraiya contribution to art and architecture is found right in the heart of the Cōḷa country as at Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi, Kīranūr, Kīḻattanaiyam, Tiruchchoṟṟutturai, Niyamam etc. The differences between the Pallava and Cōḷa styles in architecture and sculpture have to be accounted not only by the organic growth of the latter from the former but also by the latter's indebtedness to the already prevailing modes of expression in the Cōḷa tract under the Muttaraiyars. The present sculpture may be an early Cōḷa piece and its strongly emphasized features recall to mind similar works at Koḍumbāḷūr and Śrīnivāsanallūr. This image belongs to a group of sculptures which continue the old plastic tradition with a greater and commendable mastery of stone cutting technique and inaugurate a style which is fluent. Its physiognamy is tall and slender with a somewhat oval face and a masterly touch of grace and beauty. The elegantly arranged *jaṭābhāra* of this image is, as in all sculptures of the Pallava and early Cōḷa periods, in the form of a cluster of curls and ringlets. It is in later times that it becomes schematic in arrangement and circular in shape.

The main image is difficult of easy identification since it does not carry any iconographic attribute. The only clue to its identification is provided by the seated dog which makes the inference possible that the sculpture may represent Bhairava or Kṣetrapāla. The seated form of Bhairava with only a single pair of empty hands and with a consort close by is extremely rare among south Indian sculptures and the present figure is thus of interest and importance.

Bhairava and Kṣetrapāla, the latter of whom is but one of the aspects of the former, appear to have enjoyed widespread worship

Bhairava from Nagatti, Tanjore District

in South India from very early days and iconographic features of the former are referred to in a *Tēvāram* hymn.[1] In the Kailāsa temple at Ellora Bhairava occupies one of the shrines of the attendant deities. His image is found in the Dharmarājaratha at Māmallapuram and the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, both belonging to the Pallava period. The height attained by the cults of Bhairava and Kṣetrapāla can be deduced from the fact that either of them was almost invariably included from the Cōḷa period onwards among the *parivāra-devatās* who were worshipped in smaller shrines in the temple circuit. The number of *parivāra-devatās* or attendant divinities were usually eight—Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya, Sūrya, Candra (or Yama), Saptamātṛkās, Caṇḍikēśvara, Jyeṣṭhā and Nandi—and Bhairava or Kṣetrapāla was added to the list. This addition is to be found, perhaps for the first time, in the Tiruppanamūr inscription of Rājarāja Cōḷa.[2] An image of Kṣetrapāla of the tenth century in round is found in the *maṇṭapa* in front of the axial adjuncts in the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Tanjore, and was obviously consecrated when the temple was built. Another inscription of Rājarāja from Āttūr refers to Kṣetrapāla as a *parivāra-devatā*.[3] The Kōnērirājapuram inscription of Rājēndracōḷa records the setting up of an image of Kṣetrapāladēva by a queen named Arindavanmahādēvi who also endowed some lamp for it.[4] The Nallūr lithic record of the reign of Vīrarājēndra informs that a separate shrine was constructed for the consecration of an image of Kṣetrapāladēva in the temple of Nallanāyaṇār at Nallūr by a certain Āḍavalla Nambi.[5] The Tiruttani inscription of the Vijayanagar King Dēvarāya II[6] (Śaka 1359) records that a shrine for Kṣetrapāla among others was constructed in the temple of Śengaḷunīr Piḷḷaiyār at Tiruttani.

Besides the inclusion of Kṣetrapāla among the *parivāra-devatās*, the Cōḷa period witnessed also the building of separate temples for him. The temple of Kṣetrapāladēva at Tiruvalañjuḷi was built by Rājarāja and an inscription in that temple dated in his twenty-

1. *Tēvāram* 3rd *Tirumuṟai*, 9 : 3.
2. 154 of 1939-40.
3. 415 of 1930.
4. 632 of 1909.
5. 150 of 1940-41.
6. 130 of 1942-43.

fifth year[7] records the gift of an ornament by his queen Dantiśakti *alias* Lokamahādēvi and daughters Kundavai and Mādēvaḍigaḷ. Another inscription from the same place dated in the third year of Rājēndra Cōḷa records the gift of two gold flowers to Kṣetrapāladēva by Rājarāja's queen Dantiśakti out of the gold used for her *hiraṇyagarbha* in the temple at Tiruviśalūr in the twentyninth year of Rājarāja.[8] The Ādipurīśvara temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and a few other temples in different parts of Tamilnad have still each an extant *parivārālaya* for Kṣetrapāla.

The different iconographic forms of Bhairava and Kṣetrapāla are delineated in several āgamic texts including the *Viṣṇudharmottara, Rūpamaṇḍana,*[9] *Sārasvatīya citrakarma śāstram*[10] etc. Bhairava's aspects have eight different forms such as Asitāṅga, Rūdu, Canda, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapāla, Bhīṣaṇa and Samhāra. Each of these forms is further divided into eight subordinate forms, thus making sixtyfour in all.

The thirty-sixth chapter of the *Sārasvatīya citrakarma śāstram* deals with Kṣetrapāla as a *parivāra-devatā* in the temple circuit.[11] It says that the shrine of the *parivāra Kṣetrapāla* should face the main shrine of the temple and its breadth should be half of the main shrine or at least one third or one fourth of it while its length should be one third or one fourth of the central cella. The thirty-fifth chapter of the same text deals with Bhairava and refers to the *sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa* varieties of the god and says that they have respectively two (or four), six and eight arms. The *sāttvikamūrti* with two arms will carry either drum and noose or stick and skull-cup or skull-cup and trident; when he is shown with four hands the additional pair will carry fire and *khaṭvāṅga* or sword and shield. In some cases the front pair of arms will be in *abhaya* and *varada mudras.* The six-armed Bhairava will carry trident, sword and a snake in his right arms and a skull-cup, *śekhara* and a bell or shield in the left arms. While trident, arrow,

7. 633 of 1902; *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. VIII, No. 234.
8. 633c of 1902; *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. VIII, 237.
9. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, Part I, pp. 177-182.
10. *Sārasvatīya chitrakarma śāstram* (Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series No. 87), pp. 345-348 and 351-360.
11. *Ibid.,* pp. 361-364.

snake and noose are the weapons carried by the right hands of the eight-armed Bhairava his left hands will hold skull-cup, shield, noose and bell. The text further adds that Bhairava has two consorts, Dadhnikā on the right and Gaurikā on the left. It is interesting to note that though these two are rarely met with in sculpture, one of them, possibly Gaurikā, is noticed in the group of sculptures under discussion.

THE RATHA VIMĀNA

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

The term *Ratha* means a processional car or chariot to transport idols (Hindu and Buddhist) round the main streets of a temple city during festal days. These temple processional chariots are supposed to be an imitation of the celestial chariots of the gods; the temple cars are made of wood and are decorated with two or four multi-coloured figures of prancing horses.

Viṇṇiżhi-Vimāna

The *devas* are believed to ride in chariots made by Brahmā to carry them in their heavenly course. Buddhaghosha describes the *kūṭāgāra vihāra* at Vaiśāli as a storeyed building raised on pillars with a pinnacle and like "the chariot of the Gods". Sometimes, the gods are said to come to the earth in their heavenly chariots and some of these are believed to have even got stuck on earth and became *Ratha-Vimāna.* In Tamil literature, they are known as *Viṇṇiżhi-Vimānam,* — Vimāna descended from heaven. Vishnu is said to have descended from heaven in a celestial car to worship Śiva at Tiruviḻimiḻalai (திருவிழிமிழலை). Appar (7th Century A.D.) in his *devaram* hymns sings of the Lord thus:—"ari vaḻi paṭṭiḻicciya vimānattiraivan—(அரி வழிபட்டிழிச்சிய விமானத்திறைவன்), the Vimāna-chariot in which Vishnu came to the earth to worship Śiva.

Ellora-Kailāsa Temple

About the splendid rock-cut temple at Ellora (Elāpurācala) and its grandeur, built by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishna I (8th Century A.D.), the Baroda plates of Kārakarāya state as follows:

"The King (Krishnarāja I) by whom was made to be carved a temple of worshipful structure (as a proclamation of his name) situated in the hill at Elāpura on seeing which, the wonder-struck lords of the Gods driving in their aerial cars (vismita-vimāna-

cara-amarendrāḥ) constantly reflect saying, "This abode of Śiva is self-existant; in an artificial building, such a beauty was never seen."

Mamallapuram Rathas

The term *Ratha* applied loosely to the various types of monolithic structural temples at Māmallapuram by the Pallava rulers of Kānchīpuram is a misnomer. *The Pañca Pāṇḍava Rathas* — as they are popularly called — are only free-standing structural stone temples, and they are replicas of the earlier types of indigenous temples made of perishable materials and the prototype of the future Dravidian *Vimānas* and *Gopuras.*

Melek-K-Kaḍambūr

Ratha-Vimāna (Karak-Kōyil)

Among the various types of temples of the *Nāgara* style, one is said to be of the *chariot* type. Among *Dravidian* temples, the one rebuilt by Kulottuṅga I (acc. A.D. 1070) at Melakkaḍambūr — (about twenty miles from Chidambaram — Tamil Nadu), has a *ratha-vimāna.* Appar calls it: "Ten-Kaḍambaittiruk-karak-koyilān" — the Lord of Ten-Kaḍambur *Karak-koil.* It is believed that Indra tried to uproot it with his hands and take it away to heaven but failed. We know that this temple now called after Amṛtaghaṭeśvarar was in existence at least in the days of Appar (7th Century A.D.) but we do not know what shape it had then. Some time before the 43rd year of Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1113), it was rebuilt of stone by this Chola King as evidenced by an inscription of his on the southern wall of the temple.

The Vimāna of the temple is in the shape of a chariot with wheels and horses. This heralds a new style of Chola architecture, which has its echo in far off Koṇārak in Kaliṅga deśa.

The Nṛtta Sabhā — Chidambaram

The chariot feature of the *Vimāna* is repeated at Chidambaram. The Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram was renovated and enlarged into a big temple-city during the reigns of Kulottuṅga I and Vikrama Chola helped by their minister and general Naraloka-vīran. The first two inner walls of enclosure of the present

Naṭarāja temple were built in these days. And the *praśasti* of Vikrama Chola mentions the gilding (*pon-veyindu*) of the *Tiruttūk-Koyil*. This should refer to the *Nṛtta-sabhā* south of the Cit Sabhā, built in the shape of a chariot with wheels and horses as in Melakkaḍambur, where the *Ūrdhva-tāṇḍava* form of Naṭarāja is installed. Fergusson was inclined to believe that it might be the oldest part of the Chidambaram temple and that it might be attributed on stylistic grounds to the 17th Century A.D. as in the case of the Pāṇḍya Nāyakam (Subrahmaṇya) shrine in the western third prākāra. This Nṛtta maṇḍapa belongs to the days of later Cholas (Kulottuṅga I and Vikrama Chola). The present Śāraṅgapāṇi (Vishnu) temple at Kumbakonam is also of this class and of this age. Following this model, chariot-shaped *maṇḍapas* made their appearance in various temples of the Tamil land. The chief chariot-shaped *maṇḍapas* can be seen at the Nāgeśvara temple, Kumbakonam, the front maṇḍapas at Dārāsuram and Tribhuvanam, and even in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi (Vijayanagar) in the 16th Century A.D.

THE GHAṬIKĀ AT KĀÑCHĪ

BY

S. GURUMURTHY, M.A., M.LITT.

Epigraphy mentions the existence of *Ghaṭikās* in various places in South India right from the beginning of the 4th Century A.D. down to the end of the 15th Century A.D. The word *Ghaṭikā* has been variously interpreted by scholars. Kielhorn identifies the *Ghaṭikā* with *Goṣṭhī* and says that it was an establishment consisting of groups of holy and learned Brāhmaṇas probably in each case founded by a king.[1] According to Krishnaswami Aiyangar, it was a Brahman settlement.[2] Minakshi interprets that it was the place or institution where scholars and students strove after knowledge.[3] Nilakanta Sastri calls it a Corporate College.[4] Explaining the word *Ghaṭikā* found in the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*, Bhaṭṭa Sōmēśvara explains the place as *Ghaṭikāsthāna*.[5] He defines *Ghaṭikāsthāna* as a place where an intellectual test would usually be held to test the proficiency of the scholars in the Vedas by asking questions through ballot papers which were put inside a *ghaṭa* or a pot. This explanation has got some meaning which closely connects the *Ghaṭikā* with learning and education. Appayya Dīkṣita, a sixteenth century scholar says that the *ghaṭikā* was a religious centre.[6]

1. *E.I.* VIII, p. 26 and Fn. 1.
2. S. K. Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, p. 105.
3. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 186.
4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 310.
5. *Ghaṭikāsthānam Eṉṟāl Eṉṉa?*—published by Sri Śankarācārya Maṭha—Kāncī, p. 6.
6. (a) See Appayya Dīkṣita's *Parimaḷa*, a commentary on *Kalpataru*. In his work, he explains that *Ghatikāsthānas* were the holy places on the banks of Gōdāvarī.
   (b) Lakshmi Narasimha, who wrote the commentary *Ābhōga*, also agrees with the view of Appayya Dīkṣita.
   (c) The *Ghaṭikā* referred to in the *Kalpataru* was certainly a *Vidyā-sthāna* where the study of the four Vedas was found common. (See pp. 5-6 of the reference cited above, No. 5).

Though we have a number of epigraphical references to *Ghaṭikās*, it is most unfortunate that they did not receive attention at the hands of the contemporary writers or the travellers who visited South India during the period of our survey. Though the word *Ghaṭikā* may be taken to mean many things, its real interpretation mainly depends upon the context. Since inscriptions are our main source of information, a careful study of them would enable us to establish the true nature of this institution as also the vital role it played in the history of South Indian education. Bearing these in mind, let us now discuss the nature of this institution as revealed by epigraphy.

In most cases, the kings were the patrons of these *Ghaṭikās* or it may even be said that the *Ghaṭikās* were under their control. The establishment of a *Ghaṭikā* was considered an act of merit. In the Cikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty it is recorded that the king acquired *puṇya* by creating *Ghaṭikās* according to the Śāstras.[7] The members of the *Ghaṭikā* were also highly respected and held in high esteem. They were called "the Mahājanas" in the Kāñcī inscription of Vikramāditya II.[8] The inscription further speaks that "those who destroyed these letters and the stability of the king's charity which was thus given shall enter into the world of those who had killed the *Mahājanas* of *Ghaṭikā* of this city." In a Cōḷa inscription[9] of Rājarāja I, it is interesting to note that even the Śeṭṭis and Śeṭṭiputras lay claim to the sixty-four *Ghaṭikāsthānas*. Here the exact significance and meaning of the term *Ghaṭikāsthānas* is not clear. They may either denote educational centres or even places of religious importance. Minakshi is of opinion that they also stand for trade cities.[10] It may not be far wrong, if we suppose that these *Ghaṭikāsthānas* must have been maintained or financed by the merchant community referred to in the inscription. There are other inscriptions also which refer to the Sixty-four *Ghaṭikāsthānas* in South India. An inscription from Shikarpur taluk (1182 A.D.) describes the *Ghaṭikāsthānas* as the sup-

7. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 196.
8. *E.I.*, Vol. III, No. 48, p. 60, *l.* 9; *S.I.I.*, III, p. 91.
9. This inscription comes from Ponneri taluk of the Chingleput District (C. Minakshi—*op.cit.*, p. 189).
10. C. Minakshi, *op.cit.*, p. 189.

port of *Dharma* and abodes of enjoyment.[11] Another inscription from the Sorab taluk (1245 A.D.) simply refers to the existence of 77 crores of *Ghaṭikāsthānas* without giving details.[12] Apart from the scanty references and occasional mention of these *Ghaṭikāsthānas* in the inscriptions, we do not get much detailed information about them. They probably tend to show that some pious and religious significance must have been attributed to or attached to these *Ghaṭikāsthānas*. Since imparting knowledge was considered sacred and meritorious, naturally the institutions engaged in spreading of knowledge would have been considered sacred institutions. These institutions seem to have enjoyed wide popularity throughout the country which is also borne out by the fact that in some of the inscriptions, the kings as well as their subjects are said to have been related to or connected with these institutions in some way or other as already referred to. In the Kāśākkuḍi plates, it is recorded that the *Ghaṭikā* was owned by the king. The plates run thus: *sva-Ghaṭikām Bhūdevatām.*[13] The record further speaks that from the time of Mahēndravarman onwards, the establishment of the *Ghaṭikās* prospered.

Ghaṭikā of Kāñcī:

Of all the *Ghaṭikās* in South India, the one which existed in Kāñcī during the days of the Pallavas was more important from the point of view of education and politics. The earliest reference to the existence of *Ghaṭikā* in Kāñci in South India is found in the Tālaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.[14] Lewis Rice, the discoverer of this inscription, fixed its age about the middle of the 5th century A.D. from the point of view of its palaeography (450 A.D.).[15] Buhler assigned it to 400 A.D.[16] and Kielhorn dated it to the 6th century A.D.[17] The date of Mayūraśarman given by Moraes is 345-370 A.D.[18] Thus, whatever may be the differences of opinion among

11. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 197.
12. *Ibid.*, VIII, St. 268.
13. *S.I.I.*, II, p. 349, l. 59.
14. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 24.
15. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 176.
16. *I.A.*, VIII, p. 31.
17. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 31.
18. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 14.

scholars regarding the assignment of actual date either to the Tālaguṇḍa inscription or to Mayūraśarman, the inscription bears testimony to the existence of the *Ghaṭikā* in the capital city of the Pallavas during the time of Mayūraśarman or even earlier, i.e. circa 350 A.D.

Coming to the contents of the inscription, Lewis Rice first translated the lines *Mayūraśarmēti Śruta-śīlaśañcādy-alaṅkṛtaḥ* (l. i) *yaḥ prayāya Pallavēndra-purīm Guruṇā samam Vīraśarmmaṇā, adhijighāṃsur pravacanam nikhila Ghaṭikām Vivēśāśutarkkakaḥ* (l. 2) as follows: "Mayūrasarman entered into all religious centres (*Ghaṭikā*) of the Pallava city with his *guru* Vīraśarman to study the *pravacana* and (so) became a quick (or ready) debator (or disputant).'[19] Later Kielhorn slightly modified the lines as *pravacanam nnikhilam Ghaṭikām vivēś=āśu tarkkuka* and translated it "Mayuraśarman entered the *Ghaṭikā* as a mendicant with an eagerness to study the whole sacred lore."[20] But Venkatesvara translated the passage thus: "Mayūraśarman entered the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñcī to gather crumbs of knowledge."[21] Though the translations vary with scholars, they ultimately point out that the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñcī was an educational institution imparting or encouraging the study of *pravacana* or the Sacred lore.

Composition of the Ghaṭikā:

The *Ghaṭikā* finds mention in more than one inscription as having consisted of the Brāhmaṇas. The Kāśākkuḍi plates record that the *Ghaṭikā* consisted of the *'devas* of the earth' namely the Brāhmaṇas,[22] whereas the Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates (890 A.D.) refer to it as the *Ghaṭikā* of the twice born (*Dvijānām Ghaṭikām*).[23] Since Mayūraśarman and his *guru* were orthodox Brahmins who were anxious to learn in the *Ghaṭikā* itself, the institution must have consisted of a number of learned Brāhmaṇas. Though, there are many inscriptions which refer to the *Ghaṭikā*, none of them

19. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 176.
20. *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 32-34 and *fn.* 7.
21. S. V. Venkatesvara, *Indian Culture Through the Ages*, p. 243, and *n.* 1.
22. *S.I.I.*, II, p. 349, *l.* 59.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

speaks of anything about its relative size or real strength. But it is not so in the case of the *Ghaṭikās* in other parts of the country, where the membership of the *Ghaṭikā* is mentioned in thousands. The Heligare plates of the Western Ganga King Śivamāra (713 A.D.) mention the name of a Brāhmana as *Ghaṭikā-sahasrāya Hārīta-gotrāya Mahācāra-śarmmanē*.[24] Here, it may be taken to mean that the Brāhmana may be one among the thousand members of the *Ghaṭikā*. Thus the *Ghaṭikā* mentioned in the inscription, seems to have consisted of one thousand members. Another inscription from Tiruvallam (North Arcot District) of Nandivarman Pallavamalla records the members of the *Ghaṭikā* as *Ghaṭikai Eḷāyiravar*, thereby showing that the *Ghaṭikā* had seven thousand members.[25] Though these numbers *Sahasra* and *Eḷāyiravar* are bigger and raise doubts in our mind about the very nature of the statement, they may rather mean the relative size of the institution and not its actual or absolute strength. Bearing this in mind, it may be said that the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñci, a powerful institution of advanced studies, attracting students and teachers even from outside[26] must have necessarily been a bigger institution consisting of a few hundred members (scholars).

Meeting Place :

The Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III record that Narasimhavarman II had built the Kailāsanātha temple and reorganised the Kāñcī *Ghaṭikā* of the twice-born.[27] The mention of these two facts in one inscription leads us to believe that the *Ghaṭikā* of *Kāñcī* could have functioned within the premises of the Kailāsanātha temple or as an institution attached to the temple as we notice in the case of later educational institutions in Eṇṇāyiram[28] and Tirumukkūḍal.[29] But a Kannaḍa inscription of a later date (1167 A.D.) records that the Nonambēśvara temple

24. *E.C.*, III, Md. 113.
25. *S.I.I.*, III, p. 91.
26. Mayūraśarman was evidently not a native of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He seems to have come from the Deccan. C. Minakshi, *op.cit.*, p. 187 and *fn.* 10.
27. *S.I.I.*, II, p. 508.
28. 333 of 1917.
29. *E.I.*, No. 38, p. 224.

was called the great *ghaṭikāsthāna* of Henjērapaṭṭaṇa.[30] Here, it would not be far wrong, if we suppose that the members of the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñci would have met in the Kailāsanātha temple and carried on their studies and discussion. Unless we get some substantial evidence, much cannot be said with any amount of certainty about this question.

Nature of study:

The Tālaguṇḍa pillar inscription gives certain important facts which would help us in estimating the nature of study in the *Ghaṭikā* and also of its importance in the history of South Indian education. First of all, it mentions that Mayuraśarman did not enter the *Ghaṭikā* alone, but with his *Guru*. Secondly, he entered the *Ghaṭikā*, not as a beginner or an ordinary student, but as one who was already proficient in sacred learning. Thirdly, he went there to study the entire sacred lore and finally, the purpose of his visit was to complete his studies. The first two facts show that the *Ghaṭikā* would have been necessarily a centre of higher studies. The other facts point out that Mayūraśarman wanted to complete his Vedic studies (sacred lore). Therefore, it would have been a centre of Vedic learning. The Kāśākkuḍi plates also mention a *Ghaṭikā*, where the study of the four Vedas was practised. But, subject other than the Vedas, must have also been studied in the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñcī and similar ones because we see in the Ghaṭikāśāla at Nagai of later date (1058 A.D.), the *Śāstras, Prābhākara mīmāṁsā* and *Nyāya* were taught besides the Vedas.[31] T. N. Subramanian is of the opinion that military science was also taught in the *Ghaṭikā* of Kāñcī.[32] He says that, when Mayuraśarman had a quarrel with the Pallava horseman, he gave up his studies and was able to wield the flashing weapons of warfare with the hand accustomed to handle the *kuśa* grass and carved out a kingdom of his own. But, even as late as the middle of the 15th century A.D., we notice that the Sāmaveda was studied in the *Ghaṭikā*.[33]

30. *E.C.*, XII, S.23.
31. *H.A.S.*, No. 8, p. 7.
32. T. N. Subrahmanian, S.I.T.I., III, pt. II, p. 9.
33. *E.C.*, V, Cp. 178, dated 1442 A.D.

Royal patronage and its influence :

The *Ghaṭikā* seems to have maintained close relation with the members of the royal family. The Pallava kings paid much attention and attached much importance to the institution, as is borne out by many inscriptions. The Vēḷūrpāḷaiyam plates record that the Pallava king Skandaśisya, the grandson of Vīrakūrca, the founder of the Pallava line of kings, seized the *Ghaṭikā* from Satyasena.[34] The same inscription further reveals that Narasiṃhavarman II again re-established the *Ghaṭikā*. This frequent disorganisation and re-organization of the *Ghaṭikā* by kings leads us to suppose that it was not allowed to function independently, but subject to political influence. It may further be stated that the frequent interference of these political elements in the affairs of an educational institution, would have naturally had its own effects, resulting in the retarding of the progress or development. Though, it is true that the kings were the real patrons of this institution, owing to the lack of detailed information in the inscriptions, we cannot say why it was seized by one king and released by another.

In the case of Mayūraśarman, the Tālaguṇḍa inscription says that owing to a violent quarrel with a Pallava horseman, the prince was forced to give up his studies and train himself in the use of arms, so as to enable him to take revenge against the Pallava king, Pallavamalla, who was closely associated with the *Ghaṭikā*. Though we do not know the real cause of the nature of his quarrel, it seems that he attributed his failure to the Pallava king and turned all his wrath against him. These facts tend to show that the *Ghaṭikā* would not have functioned smoothly and have faced many difficulties and hardship, whenever unexpected outbursts of war or quarrels broke out among the opponent kings.

The *Ghaṭikā* did function not only as an institution of learning or an assembly of learned scholars, but also as an electoral college, taking a leading part in the administration of the country. We are told in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Temple label inscriptions, that the *Ghaṭikaiyār* of Kāñcī took part in the events leading to the

34. *S.I.I.*, II, p. 508, *ll.* 12-13.

accession of the Pallava king, Nandivarman Pallavamalla.[35] In one of the panels in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple,[36] the *Ghaṭikaiyār* are found to be seated to the right of the king during the coronation ceremony, while the ministers are found standing behind him. This is evidently a proof to show that the members of the *Ghaṭikā* had a say in the affairs of the kingdom and were held in high esteem.

35. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 135. The deputation which waited on Hiraṇyavarman includes some *Ghaṭikaiyār* also. Hiraṇyavarman was the father of Nandivarman.

36. C. Minakshi—*Historical Sculptures of Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple, Kanchi*, p. 37. See also T. V. Mahalingam—"The Accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla", *J.I.H.*, XXXVI. Pt. II (1958), p. 236.

THE DAḶAVĀIPURAM PLATES OF PARĀNTAKA VĪRANĀRĀYAṆA

BY

DR. K. K. PILLAY

The copper plates of the Pāṇḍyan king, Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa,[1] recently discovered near the Daḷavāipuram village in the Koilpatti taluq of the Tirunelveli District, throw new light on the Pāṇḍyan rulers of the latter half of the 9th century A.D. and on the history of the contemporary Pallavas and Chōḷas. It was already known from the larger Śinnamanūr plates of Rājasiṁha II, that the Pāṇḍyan king, Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha, had two sons, Varaguṇa (II)[2] and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa.

Though the name of Varaguṇa's mother is not mentioned, we learn from the Daḷavāipuram Plates that Vīranārāyaṇa's mother was Akkalanimmaṭi, the daughter of Śrī Kaṇṭha Chōḷa of the Pottappi Chōḷa line.[3] It is obvious that Akkaḷanimmaṭi was the mother of Vīranārāyaṇa and not of Varaguṇa (II) as Verse 17 of

1. These have been reproduced on pp. 95-115 of the 'Ten Pandya Copper Plates' published by the Tamil Varalatru Kazhagam, Madras, 1967.

2. Pandarathar, in his 'Pāṇḍiyar Varalāṟu', pp. 63-4, states that Varaguṇa was the son of a Rājasiṁha (II) on the basis that Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍayan and Varaguṇa Mahārāja were not identical. He thinks that the one was an ardent Vaishṇavite and the other a devoted Śaivite. Apart from the circumstance that in the 8th century the rivalry between these two sections of Hinduism had not become acute, the earlier Varaguṇa (Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍayan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi Plates) was different from the king who was a contemporary of the celebrated saint Māṇikkavāchakar. Moreover, Verse 13 of the Sanskrit portion of the Daḷavāipuram Plates states that Māraṇ (Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha) was the son of Parāntaka. This confirms the genealogies gathered from the Madras Museum Plates as well as the Vēḷvikkuḍi and the larger Śinnamanūr grants.

3. The Nellore branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas was known as that of the Pottappi Chōla line, since one of its earliest members, Madhurāntaka Pottappi Chōla was known by that surname because he had founded the town of Pottappi in the Cuddappah District immediately after his conquest and plunder of Madurai.

the Sanskrit portion of the Daḷavāipuram Plates specifically mentions Vīranārāyaṇa's mother by name, while no reference is made to the mother of Varaguṇa. The implication is that Varaguṇa was born of another wife of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha.

Now the consequences of this marriage alliance may be considered. The Daḷavāipuram Plates state that Akkaḷanimmaṭi was the daughter of Śrī Kaṇṭha Chōḷa, who was the 'Marugan', nephew or son-in-law of Mānābharaṇa. We do not know much of this Śrī Kaṇṭha Chōḷa; in all probability, he is identical with the Śrī Kaṇṭha, mentioned in the Anbil Plates belonging to the 4th year of Sundara Chōḷa.[4] This Śrī Kaṇṭha seems to have cooperated with the Pāṇḍyas and wrested the region around Kāñcī from the Pallavas. It is likely, therefore, that there was an interregnum in the reign of Dantivarman who had become the Pallava king in 796 A.D.[5]

After the 21st year of Dantivarman's rule, viz., after 817 A.D. there is a gap in his inscriptions, though he ruled till 847 A.D.; on the other hand, more than ten inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan king Māran Śaḍayan are found in the region which was earlier ruled over by the Pallavas. The Daḷavāipuram Plates speak of Śrī Kaṇṭha as lord of Kāñcī (Mattamāmalai Valavan), as a Chōḷa of the Pottappi line, a king of Mailai (Mailaiyar Kōn) and a nephew or son-in-law (Marugan) of Mānābharaṇan,, the Toṇḍiyar chief. (ll. 112-4 of the Tamil portion). Thus Śrī Kaṇṭha Chōḷa who was related to Mānābharaṇa, described as 'Toṇḍiyarkōn'; a title associated with the Pallavas had become the ruler of Kāñchī, Mailai and Toṇḍaināḍu, or at any rate, over a large part of it. This shows that the Pāṇḍyas and Telugu Chōḍas must have combined and defeated the Pallava ruler, depriving him of a considerable portion of his territory.

4. Since Vijayālaya ascended the throne about 850 A.D., Śrī Kaṇṭha might have lived during the early part of 9th century A.D. The Anbil Plates speak of Śrī Kaṇṭha as one of the predecessors of Vijayālaya. It has been suggested that Vijayālaya was probably the son and successor of Śrī Kaṇṭha. But it is difficult to be positive about this, because none of the available sources, epigraphic or literary, specifies this relationship.

5. T. V. Mahalingam: Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLI, Part I, 1963, pp. 297-99.

The Pallavas appear to have recovered control over these territories as a result of their victory won by Nandivaṛman, the son of Dantivaṛman, over the Pāṇḍyas in the important battle of Teḷḷāṛu. The 'Nandikkalambakam' states that immediately after his triumph at Teḷḷāṛu, Nandivarman marched against Madurai. It is by virtue of this victory that this Pallava king came to be known as Teḷḷāṛeṛinda Nandipōta. The exact date of the Teḷḷāṛu battle cannot be determined; it is probable that it occurred about 847 A.D.[6]

Turning to the domestic history of the Pāṇḍyan royal family, there appears to have arisen a rivalry among Śrī Māṛa Śrī Vallabha's two sons, Varaguṇa and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, born of different queens. The Daḷavāi Plates (ll. 117-8 of the Tamil portion) speak of Vīranārāyaṇa's victory over his elder brother at Śennilandai.[7] This is mentioned in both the Daḷavāipuram Plates and the larger Śinnamanūr Plates prior to Vīranārāyaṇa's other victories and, therefore, it is presumable that the battle took place early in the reign of Vīranārāyaṇa.

What was the cause of the rupture between the two half-brothers? It is not unlikely that Vīranārāyaṇa, the younger of the two, was the more favoured son of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha and that he was crowned as Yuvarāja in preference to Varaguṇa. The Ceylonese history of the time lends support to the view that the mortified Varaguṇa appealed to the Ceylonese king for help against

6. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom: p. 74) has stated that this battle must have been fought about 830 A.D. But in the light of the gap noticed in the Pallava inscriptions till 847 A.D., it is presumable that the date of the battle was about 847 A. D. T. N. Subramanian's attempt ('South Indian Temple Inscriptions', Vol. III, Part I, pp. XLVI ff) to date the battle early in the 10th century A.D., postulating a Nandivarman IV as a contemporary of Parāntaka I Chōḷa is based on inadequate data and is, therefore, unconvincing.

7. *Vīranāraṇam mun piṛanda vēl vēndanai-c-centāmaraimalar-p-paḷana-c-cennilandai-c-ceru veṛum.*

It is needless to speculate whether this reference is to Varaguṇa or to yet another elder brother ('Ten Pandya Copper Plates', p. 93) because the Daḷavāipuram grant speaks of an elder brother who was the ruling sovereign; therefore, the reference is clearly to Varaguṇa. It may be observed here that 'Śennilandai' of the Daḷavāipuram Plates is apparently identical with 'Śennilam', mentioned in the larger Śinnamanūr grant.

his father. The Chūḷavamśa says that a Pāṇḍu prince sought the assistance of the Ceylonese ruler Sēna II in an internecine war. Sēna II who, according to Geiger, was the ruler of Ceylon between 851 and 885 A.D., had been nursing a grievance against the Pāṇḍyas on account of their earlier interference with the Ceylonese affairs; and he welcomed the chance of wreaking his vengeance on the Pāṇḍyan ruler. Śēna II attacked Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha at an opportune moment when the Pāṇḍyan king was engaged in a conflict with the Pallava prince Nṛipatuṅga. Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha was defeated by the Pallavas at Ariśil,[8] and when he returned to Madurai crest fallen, he was confronted by the Ceylonese. In this fateful battle with the Ceylonese, the Pāṇḍyas were vanquished, and according to the Chūḷavamśa, Śrī Māṛa Śrī Vallabha was killed while fighting. There is no doubt that this must have taken place in 862 A.D., because it is learnt from the Aivarmalai inscription[9] that the eighth regnal year of Varaguṇa was Śaka 792, which corresponds to 870 A.D. Therefore, it can be concluded that Śrī Māṛa Śrī Vallabha was killed in 862 A.D., and it is likely that Varaguṇa ascended the throne immediately after his father's death.

Naturally the question arises as to when Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa was recognized as Yuvarāja. As noticed earlier, the battle of Śennilandai was an incident which clearly shows that there had arisen a misunderstanding between the two half brothers. The Daḷavāipuram grant was made in the 45th regnal year of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa. And his reign must have ended about 906 A.D. at the latest, because known facts of the history of the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas of the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. do not warrant a much later date for the accession of Rājasiṁha, the son and successor of Vīranārāyaṇa.[10] Therefore, if a guess may be made, the recognition of Vīranārāyaṇa as Yuvarāja might have taken place about 861 A.D.

8. The Bāhūr Plates of Nṛipatuṅgavaṛman: Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 7.

9. A.R.E. 705 of 1905.

10. The larger Śinnamanūr Plates are dated in the 16th regnal year of Rājasiṁha II. But the Pāṇḍyas are stated to have been defeated by Parāntaka Chōḷa I in the third year of his reign, (Udayēndiram Plates, *S.I.I.*, II, No. 76) viz. in 910 A.D., according to Keilhorn's reckoning. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 260). Rājasiṁha fled to Ceylon seeking aid. Till his final exit to Kēraḷa, probably in 923 A.D. Rājasiṁha continued as the formal ruler.

Though Vīranārāyaṇa defeated Varaguṇa at Śennilandai, it must be remembered that Varaguṇa continued to be the ruler even in 906 A.D. From the Daḷavāipuram Plates it is learnt that Varaguṇa was the ruler[11] when Vīranārāyaṇa made the grant in his (Vīranārāyaṇa's) 45th regnal year. These circumstances suggest that after the initial conflict there must have occurred a rapproachement between the two half-brothers.

It would appear that though formally he continued to be the sovereign, Varaguṇa led the life of a Śaiva devotee, leaving the day to day administration in the hands of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa. There is no doubt that it was this Varaguṇa who was the contemporary of the famous Śaiva saint Māṇikkavāchakar.[12]

Finally, the principal events and achievements of the reign of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa may be recounted. The engraver of the larger Śinnamanūr Plates does not seem to have had any knowledge of the Daḷavāipuram Plates, because several victories mentioned in the latter do not find a place in the former. The Tamil portion of the Daḷavāipuram Plates[13] provides a detailed account of his martial achievements. After mentioning his victory over his elder brother at Śennilandai, noticed earlier, the Plates refer to his triumph over the Koṅgu country in the west and victories at Pokkaraṇi, Ten Māyal and Veṅkai. In this connection it may be observed that the larger Śinnamanūr Plates also speak of his triumph over the Koṅgu country, specifying his destruction of Peṇṇāgaḍam.[14]

11. *l.* 109. *ku mahanākiya korravanen kō Varaguṇan pillai piṟai-c-caḍai-k-kaṇinda pināk apāṇi.*
l. 110. *emperumānai ullattil initiruvi ulakaṁ kākkinṟa nālil.*
Thus K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's statement (Pandyan Kingdom, p. 78) that Varaguṇa does not appear to have long survived the defeat at Śri Purambiyam (880 A.D.) is disproved by the Daḷavāipuram Plates.

12. I was inclined earlier to associate Māṇikkavāchakar with Varaguṇa I on the basis of the Sinhalese chronicle, Nikaya Sangrahava. But in the light of the clear evidence furnished by the Daḷavāipuram Plates, this illustrious Śaiva saint is found to have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa II.

13. The Sanskrit part says little about his actual victories, though Verse 16 speaks in general terms about his military prowess.

14. In all probability Peṇṇāgaḍam is identical with modern Peṇṇagaram in the Salem district. It is not possible to identify Pokkaraṇi, Ten Māyal and Veṇkai; perhaps they were other villages in the Koṅgu country.

Vīranārāyaṇa's capture of Viḷiñam, apparently from the Vēṇāḍ ruler, is mentioned in the Daḷavāipuram Plates but not in the Śinnamanūr grant. Was it a real achievement or a mere conventional repetition of the victories ascribed to his predecessors like Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa, Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍayan and Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha? Perhaps the reference to Ugra and his elephants, as will be indicated presently, suggests that Vīranārāyaṇa's capture of Viḷiñam was a fact.

Among the adversaries encountered and curbed by Vīranārāyaṇa there was one 'Vīra Tuṅga' according to the Daḷavāipuram Plates. It is difficult to identify him, though some conjectures have been postulated. The Editor of the 'Ten Pandya Copper Plates' advances at one place the suggestion that he might have been a Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Nṛipatuṅga by name, and at another place (p. 93) that he was a chieftain of the Koḍumbāḷūr Vēḷir group. Clearly he could not have been a Rāshṭrakūṭa king because no contemporary ruler of that line is known to have borne that name. In the context in which the reference occurs it would seem that he was a Koṅgu Chief.[15]

The larger Śinnamanūr Plates speak of Vīranārāyaṇa's triumph over one Ugra and his mighty elephants near Kharagiri; the Daḷavāipuram Plates are, however, silent about this incident. Who this Ugra was, there is no means of knowing. It may be conjectured that he was a Vēṇāḍ general because of the array of elephants mentioned in connection with his attack and because Kharagiri or Karavandapuram is situated near the border of the Pāṇḍya and Vēṇāḍ territories.[16] However, it may be noticed that the fort of Kharagiri has been known to this day as 'Ukkirankōṭṭai.' Perhaps the fort, Ukkirankōṭṭai, was called so in commemoration of the Pāṇḍyan king's victory over Ugra.

The Śinnamanūr Plates refer to the king's marriage with the Chēra princess Śrī Vānavan Mādēvi. Perhaps the omission of this fact in the Daḷavāipuram Plates is accidental. However, the

15. *l.* 121. *ḍuṁ koṅgininṟu tenūraḷavuṁ kuḍakoṅgaruḍal maḍiya veṅkatirvel valaṅko-*

l. 121. *ṇḍum vīratuṅganai kuśaikoṇḍum eṇṇiranda piṟamadeyamum.*

16. It is located about 25 km north of Tirunelveli and is called Karavandapuram in inscriptions. Karavandapuram is popularly called Kalakkāḍu.

marriage alliance of Vīranārāyaṇa with the Chēra princess was a fact. The modern town of Shērmādēvi stands as an abiding testimony to it.

One feature mentioned in both these grants is the king's liberality towards brahmins, scholars and temples. He gave munificent gifts to brahmins, established many agraharas, numberless dēvasthānas and taṭākas. This is stated by the Sanskrit and Tamil portions of both the grants. Therefore, it must have been a specially conspicuous fact. Among the numerous villages founded by him, Vīranārāyaṇa Maṅgalam and Vīranārāyanaśśēri in the present Kanyākumari District perhaps owe their origin to him.[17]

17. K. K. Pillay. The Śucīndram Temple, p. 24.

OBEISANCE TO ALL PERSONS BORN IN TIRUVĀRŪR

BY

DR. V. A. DEVASENAPATHI

In his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai,* Sundarar pays obeisance to all persons born in Tiruvārūr. Śekkiḻār describes in two verses the greatness of those born in Tiruvārūr. We may paraphrase these verses thus: 'The Lord Who has a form, Who is formless and Who exists as everything, Who is the Lord of Umā of fragrant tresses, takes delight in Tiruvārūr. Is it possible for me, a small person with but one mouth, to speak with understanding of the sacred services of those born in Tiruvārūr? Those born in Tiruvārūr are the sacred attendants of Śiva residing in the sacred Kailāsa. Therefore only those who can subdue the five arrogant senses, prostrate at the feet of those born in Tiruvārūr and make their mind one-pointed are near the path of (spiritual) advancement.'

Tiruvārūr is celebrated in the *Tēvāram* of Sambandhar, Appar and Sundarar in some of its finest verses. Yet it seems to have exercised a special fascination for Sundarar who was given the name 'Nambiārūrar' by his parents. The inspiration to sing the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* which is the nucleus for the *Periyapurāṇam* came to Sundarar when he saw the devotees of the Lord in the Devāśrya maṇṭapam in the Tiruvārūr temple. He felt an instinctive longing to become a servant of those devotees of the Lord. The Lord was pleased to reveal to Sundarar their greatness thus: 'In greatness they are like only unto themselves, by their devotion they have attained us; they have overcome the world by their one-pointedness; they have no wants; they are well-established in a sound state; they enjoy bliss through their love; they have transcended duality. Go unto them'.

At the time of Sundarar's wedding, the Lord appears on the scene as an aged Brahmin and insists on settling an issue between Himself and the bridegroom. He claims that Sundarar's grandfather had signed a document pledging himself and his successors

to His service. He produces a document in support. When this was torn up by the understandably impatient bridegroom, the Lord runs to the neighbouring village and, after setting an assurance of protection from the elders of the village, produces a document which He says is the original of the one torn by the bridegroom. The elders decide that though this is a strange case of one Brahmin claiming another as his slave, the document is a genuine one. When asked to show His residence, the Lord replies: 'Does no one know me?' He leads them into the temple and disappears. Appearing in the sky with His Consort, the Lord tells Sundarar that he was His devotee and was born in this world according to His will. He commands Sundarar to worship Him with songs in Tamil. Overwhelmed by joy, Sundarar commences his career as one of the chosen singers of the Lord's praise. He falls in love with Paravaiyār of Tiruvārūr and, with the Lord's blessings, marries her. When in the course of his pilgrimage he meets Sangiliyār at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, he falls in love with her also. Directed by the Lord to marry Sundarar, Sangiliyār takes a pledge from Sundarar with the Lord as a witness that he would not leave Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. Sundarar gives the pledge. Yet after sometime, he is overcome by a longing to go to Tiruvārūr to worship the Lord there. 'Oh, what a sinner am I to have forgotten my devotion and service to the Lord! How long am I to be forgetful of my Lord of Tiruvārūr?' Unable to stay any longer at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Sundarar starts for Tiruvārūr. As he leaves the boundary of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, he loses his sight as a punishment for breaking his pledge. Still he continues his journey—such is the fascination of Tiruvārūr! Singing plaintively but with undiminished devotion to the Lord at shrines on the way, Sundarar regains vision in one eye at Kāñcīpuram and vision in the other eye also at Tiruvārūr. Śekkiḻār says that Sundarar prayed for vision in the other eye also in order 'to drink with his eyes the rare and sweet Ambrosia—the Lord of Tiruvārūr.' When he gains vision in the other eye also, Sundarar 'revels in drinking with both his eyes the grace of Śiva, the cool roseate tender shoot.'

Sundarar refers to the document shown by the Lord as a 'wonderful old document'. Śekkiḻār speaks of the antiquity of the document. In its implication this document is record of a covenant between the Lord and all souls. He is eternally His slave. This seems to weight the case in favour of the Lord with

no rights or claims for the souls. Yet, as the *Periyapurāṇam* reveals, the Lord has heavier obligations to discharge towards the souls than they to Him. Nay, it is not so much a matter of obligation as of love. If boundless service is offered by the souls, the Lord makes a return with boundless love—a love that is mad like the love of a mother for her offspring. Hence Sundarar's very first hymn of praise starts by addressing the Lord as 'Oh Thou Mad One!' Sundarar has come to realise that it is no longer the madness of eccentric behaviour but the madness that excels a mother's love. Sensitive to this love element in the covenant, Sundarar prays to the Lord to plead with Paravaiyār on his behalf when she refuses to receive him on his return to Tiruvārūr. 'If you are my Lord and if I am Your servant, if you are my Friend, dear like a mother and my Lord, you must remove her anger.' When the Lord reports failure in His mission, Sundarar importunes Him thus: 'To save the celestials You drank poison. You burnt the three cities of the three asuras while sparing their lives and protected their victims. For the soke of the Brahmin boy, you visited your wrath on Yama. If to-day, I am unwanted by you what is Your will? If you don't want my bondage of what avail Your love in forcibly taking me as Your slave once?' Śekkiḻār explains this love when he is describing the life of another saint-Amarnītināyanār—in the following words: 'There is a law by which the pass in which the Lord places His gracious love goes down in weight as against the pass of the scale in which devotees with unqualified fervour place their love!' It is this unexcellable love of the Lord for the souls that makes Him confer a princely status on souls which are, by the covenant His bond slaves. The eighth *sūtra* of the *Śivajñānabodham* speaks of the Lord going out to reclaim the soul in the manner of a king going out to reclaim his prince kidnapped in his infancy by gipsies. If we may say so, the natural status of the soul is that of a bond slave; but it pleases the Lord, because of His boundless love, to confer sonship.

Turning to the *Tēvāram of Tirujñānasambandhar* we note that while the general note of his utterances is one of strong confidence, in some of his verses relating to Tiruvārūr, we find the following questions: 'Will my Father accept me?' 'How is it that He does not tell me "Have no fear?" 'Will He remove my misery and accept me'? 'Will He tell me, when I pine away, "Don't pine away"?' 'Will he bear me up when I lose strength?' 'Will he give his garland saying

"Have no fear"'? Though posed as questions, they carry with them implicitly strong faith in God's redeeming mercy.

One of the hymns of Appar may be paraphrased thus: 'He is the Strong One who keeps at a distance all guile persons. He delights to dance in darkness. When darkness surges up in the minds of His devotees, He radiates light as a Beautiful flame. Such a One I saw at Ārūr'.

In another hymn, he says that the Lord bears the burden of those who love Him.

We may conclude this brief article by recalling what Appar says about the worshippers of the Lord in the temple in Tiruvārūr:

'Days not spent in worshipping You are miserable
Days spent in worshipping You are joyful'.

THE QUINTESSENCE OF TAMIL PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT

BY

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

Tamil Saiva Siddhanta philosophy is characteristically pragmatic and realistic. Tamil philosophic thought from the earliest times has been monotheistic. It never looked upon the world as *mithya* or illusion. It did not seek the annihilation of sense-experience but its sublimation for a higher living. The problem of evil which is never explained properly in other systems of thought did not baffle the Tamil mind. Evil is not a negation of truth but a challenge to its realisation. Indeed it could be made an instrument for higher life. The ego is looked upon by others as evil but without ego there is no experience. Tamil thought made ego an instrument oriented for a higher good instead of for sense satisfaction. It insisted that Karma has to be performed out of love and not without detachment to fruits. Liberation is not for the self but for the whole world. Saiva Siddhanta does not contribute to the doctrine that Brahman alone exists and nought else exists, because the experiential world and the plurality of souls in different situations would become inexplicable or *anirvacaniya*. The realised souls are enjoined to stay in the world and shed light on the path of the lesser souls and not seek seclusion from the world. This attitude of self-fulfilment instead of self-abnegation is the keynote of Tamil attitude to life.

From the age of Tolkappiyam down the centuries, in all the great works like Tirukkural, Tirumantiram, Tevaram and Tiruvachakam, the dominant characteristic of Tamil philosophic thought has been that love is the only emotion that can sustain Reality. 'God and Love are one' is the grand maxim of Tirumantiram which is echoed and re-echoed in song and poetry in the Sangham troubadours, the Kural couplets and the hymns of Nayanmars. The Vaishnava Alvars were also on the same trail but the later metaphysicians of Vaishnavism made it a qualified Monism. After the conflicting interpretations of Vedanta by Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva, St. Meikandadeva (13th cen-

tury) restated the Tamil philosophy of Saivism in 12 sutras in Tamil (free from Text quibblings) with a logical clarity and intellectual brilliance rarely surpassed in the philosophical works of the world.

A brief outline of the Siddhanta Philosophy which aims at Siddhi (experience) and not mere knowledge (Vidya) is given below.

The philosophic categories in Saiva Siddhanta are the three entities Pati, Pasu and Pasam called the tri-padartha. The world, animate and inanimate, passes through a cycle of changes, viz., evolution, maintenance and dissolution. This is a view which is accepted by the cosmogonists of different systems of philosophy as well as by modern science. As the world evolves it also exists as we see it before our very eyes. It must, therefore, have an efficient cause because that which exists cannot evolve from nothing. The question is whether the cause of the Universe is God or whether it is *maya* or phenomenon. It cannot be *maya* because it is *asat* and devoid of consciousness. The efficient cause must, therefore, be one who is also the agent of the dissolution. That agent must be the Supreme Being, as evolution is the manifestation of that which is unevolved or dissolved and will be evolved again. If there are lesser powers concerned with the evolution and maintenance, they will necessarily be involved in the universal dissolution. The Siddhanta view, therefore, is that the agent of dissolution is also the agent of creation and maintenance and it, therefore, is the Supreme Being. This is the conception of Siva in Tamil thought.

The question now arises whether the cycle of evolution, maintenance, dissolution and reproduction is purposeless or *lila*. The Siddhanta view is that it is to enable the soul to free itself from its ego or the principle of individuation and merge itself in the universal soul. Its ego is called the *anava* or *sahaja mala* or impurity which the Saiva Siddhanta holds is inseparable from the soul. This *mala* provides the soul with experience of the world which God has provided to work out its freedom. But it is only an instrument or means and freedom or release is obtained by Divine grace which acquaints it of its oneness with God and its dependance on Him. The Siddhanta view of God's relation to the soul is *advaita* or *ananya* or non-duality both in its bound and

its free states. This conception is unique to the Saiva Siddhanta. God is *ananya*, both in the bound state and in the free state. In the bound state the soul retains this impurity of *anava* which never loses its force except through a process of spiritual evolution and ultimately only by the grace of God; in the free state the soul completely loses its ego i.e., the *anava* is sublimated, and it becomes one with God. This oneness is *not* a case of identity as in the monistic Advaita system, but one of unity in difference.

The next point for consideration is: Does God who is pure intelligence, evolve this world for souls to work out their salvation? Saiva Siddhanta holds that God is not the material cause of the world. From a state of dissolution God causes the world to re-emerge from *maya* through the instrumentality of His *sakti* or power with which He is in implicit union. Sakti is the instrumental cause for the evolution of matter from a state of energy. It is called the *tirodhana sakti* or concealing power. In this state the soul which had come to rest after continuous experience of *karma* or action gets united with material body, sense organs and intellectual faculties all evolutes of *maya*. The utter unconsciousness of the soul in the state of dissolution or *kevala* state is dissipated and the *anava* or ego begins to function again. Thus at the time of recreation the souls still have only finite experience and the quality and nature of this experience depend on the previous *karma* of the soul whose results begin now to operate. So both *anava* and *karma* help the soul to develop its experience. The instruments provided by God to soul through his *sakti* are the body, faculties, sense organs, the world and above all the power of experience. This is the third instrument called *maya*. The soul begins to experience the fruits of the *karma* still attaching themselves to it, i.e. it begins to experience the *prarabdha karma* from the store of *sanchita*, and as it goes along it gathers more by its actions and this is called *agami*.

It will be seen that besides God or *Pati* and the three bonds, *anava*, *karma* and *maya*, there is a third category which is the *Pasu* or the soul. The soul is not a part or variable of God, nor is it the body which is evolved out of matter, because there is a consciousness which says, I am the possessor of this body. It is not the five sense organs either, because each sense perceives only one object and cannot do the function of the other. There is however a principle which is conscious of all the five senses. The soul is

not even the subtle body which functions in the dream state *svapna* because it is in association the *sukshma sareera* when in dream state and its association with *sthula sareera* makes it realise the dream to be a dream. It is not even the vital force or life force which functions in deep sleep state i.e., *sushupti* or in the fourth state *turya*, the state in which consciousness is not developed. The soul cannot be identified with the *antahkaranas*, i.e., internal sense organs either although it is associated with them. Through *chitta* (sense of perception) it only perceives, through *manas* (faculty of mind) it recognises, through *ahankara* (self knowledge) it questions and decides and through *buddhi* (reason) it reaches a conclusion. All these faculties are exercised by the soul by reason of its association with its ego personality or *anava*.

The mission of the soul is to transcend its *anava* by overcoming the *tattvas* which are the evolutes of *maya* and maintaining an indifference to the fruits of *karma* to realise its own consciousness and its relationship with God. Because God is in union with the soul, the soul gains knowledge of God with His grace when the fruits of its *karma* have waned. The question arises whether these sense organs and the faculties which are called *pasa jnana* and the experience of ego *pasu jnana* are not also intelligent entities. Their capacity to experience or perceive, is only empirical. In the same way, the soul does not know itself or God and its consciousness is dependent upon God who is in union with the soul even during its stage of bondage and progress. This is a unique concept of Saiva Siddhanta because even the annihilation of *avidya* is only through God's help and the soul does not attain god-realisation even though it may shed *avidya*. So long as the 'I-ness' or *anava* is not extinguished by the grace of God it has no higher experience.

A question might arise at this point whether God will not be submitted to a change from this concept that He is in union with the soul, when it undergoes all its experiences. Saiva Siddhanta holds that God is no more affected than the magnet which makes the pieces of iron move towards it when approaching the magnet. Both the sense of perception and the sense-conditioned knowledge of the soul are *asat* or non-real. God is not knowable through *pasu* or *pasa* knowledge, but this does not mean that God is not knowable at all because he is neither *asat* nor *sunya*. Saiva

Siddhanta does not at all hold that God is incomprehensible, but gives the hope that he is knowable by *Pati jnana* or the immediate knowledge of God imparted to the soul by the Divine grace when the soul has shed the modes of matter (i.e., *tattvas*).

God is not affected by *pasa* because the non-real does not stand before what is real. God is not also conscious of *pasa* because nothing exists apart from God and he needs to know nothing objectively. *Pasa* is non-real and can have no knowledge of the real because it is insentient and impercipient. The appearance of knowledge in the non-real is an illusion like water in a mirage. The question arises whether the soul which is in command of both of *pasu jnana* and *pasa jnana* has no use at all for them. In Saiva Siddhanta, the soul is *sadasat* (*sat* and *asat*). In association with the non-real it can know only the non-real or *asat* and in association with the real it can know the real or the *sat*. This is a rational concept which is supported by psychological experience.

The soul in its finite experience through its senses and intellect perceives only the non-real but it does not know itself or God. When the soul turns away from the world of senses and faculties and turns towards God, it reaches a stage where God's *sakti* or *jnana* comes in its immediacy.

In such a stage God elevates the soul to the level of His wisdom (*Pati jnana*). The soul then is able to realise Him. This concept in Saiva Siddhanta is called the imparting of *jnana* to the soul by the appearance of God as *Guru* for its spiritual enlightenment. The soul then ceases to identify itself with *asat* and in doing so it realises its oneness *ananyatvam* with God. This is the concept of *jnana* in Saiva Siddhanta and it is the culmination of the three other modes of purification, viz., *charya* (service), *kriya* (worship) and *yoga* (inward spiritual union). This *jnana* is the grace of God and the manner in which it is imparted varies according to the different stages of the development of the individual souls. The souls are classified as *sakala, pralayakala, vijnanakala. Sakala* is affected by *karma* and *maya, Pralayakala* by *anava* and *karma* only and *Vijnanakala* by *anava* only. To the *Sakala* God appears in the human form as *Guru;* to the *Pralayakala* He appears in one of His manifested forms; and to *Vijnanakala* He appears as soul's inner consciousness. At this stage the Siddhanta

reaches a mystical stage and is based on the experience of the saints. Saiva Siddhanta believes that it is not by *pasa jnana* or *pasu jnana* that is, by experience through sense perceptions or by discrimination alone that the soul can know the ultimate Reality. It is only by God's grace that He is known. It is an illumination which the developed soul receives through God as *Guru*. That illumination is *Pati jnana*. (In Tamil it is variously spoken of as *Tiruvadijnanam, Meijnanam* or *Jnanakkan*).

In this state of illumination which God as *ananya* vouchsafes to the soul, it realises its true nature as above the *tattvas*, and the ego principle loses its force. What shines forth is only the knowledge of the reality—and not only the knowledge of the Divine reality but also its inseparable experience. This is a stage which philosophical analysis cannot completely describe or explain as it is in the region of mystic experience. Although the soul in this state is in complete *advaitic* relationship with God, through its long association with the *malas*, it sometimes loses its sense of oneness with God and its *anava* or ego tends to assert itself. Thus, though the soul realises the *Jivanmukta* state of liberation in this life itself, it has to guard against falling into the lower states of consciousness. The *Jivanmukta* has to meditate on *Panchakshara* (Na-mas-si-va-ya) the five-letter symbol which represents the soul's relationship with God and His Grace.

This is the supreme *sadhana* for the soul to help it to be unaffected by *pasa* or bonds and to maintain its union with God. It is possible for the soul to detach itself from the bonds of *karma* and *maya* which set in motion the law of action and reaction and its experience thereof. Though *Jivanmukta* continues to experience the fruits of previous *karmas* which is inexorable, he now comes to regard every action of his as God's and his *prarabdha karma* does not sow the seeds of *agami* and the danger of rebirth is avoided.

By this detachment and by his constant meditation of *Panchakshara* the soul maintains its experience of oneness with God without even the thought "I know Him" which is the residual effect of *Anava*. This *nishtha* after the enlightenment is called *Sivapperu*, or the highest bliss or *mukti* which could be attained by the soul when it is still embodied. Because it has lost its ego

completely there is no danger of rebirth for it. Its individuation has been finally dissolved.

Because the *Jivanmukta* has experienced the Divine Bliss in this birth itself, he becomes the embodiment of love (*anbu*) which finds expression in the fellowship of God's devotees and in the worship of God's symbols as God himself. This is the grand finale of Saiva Siddhanta which shows the way not only for the salvation of the individual soul but also for service in the world. This philosophy appeals to the modern mind because it is realistic, it is free from internal contradictions and it is not divorced from social concern and it is intensely existential and experiential, with an appeal to the heart as well as to the intellect. It deserves to be more widely understood. This brief exposition, it is hoped, will serve as a simple introduction to its sublime beauty.

VEDIC SACRIFICES IN TAMILAHAM IN THE SANGAM AGE

BY

DR. N. SUBRAHMANIAN

Two thousand years ago, there existed in the Tamil country a civilization somewhat distinct from what it turned out to be after the 6th Cent. A.D., when the Bhakti movement became widespread and effective. It was a clearly plural and tribal society with numerous and identifiable cultural facets co-existing and evidently non-interfering among themselves. The Buddhists and the Jainas were no doubt here and the autachthones practised tribal worship of one kind or another; while the Brahminical way of life was also significant by its pervasive presence. Supporters of particular deities or defenders of certain faiths did not engage in public controversies of an acrimonious nature. Religion was a duty they did not neglect; but secular activities accounted for a good part of their willing and enthusiastic effort. Hence there was an unusual harmony at religious level, then.

The essence of the Brahminical way of life is the loyalty to Vedic Dharma and the kings of those times provided the facilities needed for such loyalty on the part of the Vaidikas. Many kings, not only supported the sacrificing Brahmins but believed in and performed many Vedic sacrifices themselves. We shall see below some instances of Sangam Tamil kings and others who performed such sacrifices.

There was a Pandyan king by name Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi (i.e the great Pandya enjoying the ancient chieftancy) who performed so many Vedic sacrifices that he came to be called 'Palyākasālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaludi'. He who set up numerous vedic sacrificial halls. The Poetess Neṭṭimaiyār who composed the fifteenth verse in the Purananuru and was a contemporary of that Pandya, suggests that he built at least as many sacrificial halls as the victories he won in battle fields. He was the king who first granted the village of Velvikkudi to some brahmins as a Brahmadeya gift. The Velvikkudi grant narrates how the

Kalabhras disendowed this village which, much later i.e. in the 8th cent., came to be re-endowed to the original grantees by the Pandya king Nedujadaiyan. Thus Mudukudumi is noted in literature and epigraphy as a great supporter of Vedic sacrifices.

A great warrior king who fought and won many battles was, according to the Hindu tradition entitled to perform an 'imperial sacrifice' called the 'Rājasūyam'. There was such a Tamil king who performed perhaps more than one Rājasūya or who was possibly the only king till his days to perform such a great sacrifice, and he has since then been called 'Rājasūyam Vetta Perunaṟkiḷḷi'; i.e., 'the great good Chola who performed the Rājasūya'. As he was a contemporary of the Pandyan King 'Kānapper eyil kaṭanda ugraperuvaḻudi,' it may be presumed that he was one of the last Pandya rulers of the Sangam age. We do not know if he was the Chola king who was overthrown by the Kalabhras, but even if it were not so, it is clear that during and till the very end of the Sangam age the performance of the Vedic sacrifices was in great vogue in the Tamil country. Patronage to Vedic culture seems to have clearly diminished thereafter, perhaps due to Kalabhra indifference or objection, and had to be revived in the 7th century when i.e., Sambhandar sang in praise of the 'Veda Velvi' (the Vedic Sacrifice).

The horse sacrifice—Aśvamedha—was specially prescribed for an all-conquering Kṣatriya, and we know that when rulers like Puṣyamitra or Samudra Gupta came to power in North India, they performed the horse-sacrifice. But though we hear of many kings aspiring to almost imperial status in the Tamil country, we do not hear of one who ever performed this sacrifice which comes in the wake of a Digvijaya, successfully completed. This might mean that either as a rule the performance of that sacrifice was not in vogue here or that reference to a king who performed such a sacrifice does not exist.

It is rightly deduced from a study of the Padiṟṟuppattu 74 that the Chera king Perunjeral Irumpoṟai performed the Putrakāmeṣṭi sacrifice it is presumed that Iḷam Cheral Irumpoṟai, his son was the boon granted thereupon.

Kings performed sacrifices at the behest of and for the benefit of the Brahmins, too. An important example was the performance

of ten Vedic sacrifices by the Chera King Palyanai Selkelu Kuttuvan at the instance of the Brahmin poet Palai Gautamanar. Māḍalan, a Brahmin from Puhar advised the great Chera King Senguttuvan to perform 'the greatest and best of sacrifices fit for the kings'; and Karunkulal Adan, a friend and protege of the great Chola king Karikalan, says that many Vedic sacrifices in all their elaborate details were performed by that king.

Avur Mulan Kilar, a Sangam poet, describes in detail the Vedic sacrifice performed by the Brahmin Vinnandayan of the Kaundinya Gotra belonging to Punjarrur in the Chola land. There is mention in this context of twenty-one varieties of Vedic sacrifices; evidently the twenty-one are made up of Soma Yajñas, 7—Havir Yajñas 7—Pāka Yajñas 7. This Vinnandayan earned the Parppanavahai or the distinction of being a 'conqueror of the Brahmanical lore and way of life'.

Surely the Vedic sacrifices were quite in evidence in the Sangam age, i.e. about twenty centuries ago.

ETYMOLOGY AND INTERPRETATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

DR. K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

The ancient Indian approach towards etymology was not historical, but mainly descriptive and synchronic. The aim of etymology in India has not been to find out the history of the evolution of the form and meaning of words, but to understand their essence or their real significance through linguistic analysis. Etymology was not a subject of antiquarian interest; it has always been of great importance to the study of meaning. Etymology and grammar were considered as two of the most important among the six Vedāṅgas, or the accessories of the Veda, and were studied from very ancient times. The term *nirukta* used for etymology strictly meant the full explanation of a word through linguistic analysis or derivation; and etymology was considered as essential for the proper interpretation of the Vedic texts.

Yāska, the most outstanding etymologist of India, had before him a long tradition of etymological studies from the Vedic times onwards, and many of the derivations noted in his *Nirukta* are based on the previous studies. Being an etymologist he did not want to give up the attempt at derivation even in the case of obstruse and difficult words. He was quite clear about the general principles to be adopted. He subscribed to the fundamental assumption that in Sanskrit all nouns are to be derived from verbal roots. In derivation the grammatical rules are to be followed as far as possible; splitting the stem from the suffix and distinguishing the root from the derivational element are the normal methods adopted. The phonetic changes that take place such as *guṇa, vṛddhi, samprasāraṇa* and palatalisation on the one hand, and individual changes like metathesis, haplology and assimilation on the other are fully understood and applied with caution.

Yāska knew that in etymology the semantic aspect is as important as the phonetic aspect; his main aim was to explain the Vedic words in the contexts of the Vedic passages themselves;

hence to suit the context he gave different derivations for the same word occurring in different contexts. Meaning was the principal element to which other elements were subordinate. He was mainly concerned with the primary meaning of words, and did not fully appreciate that many of the different contextual senses of a word could be explained as metaphoric transfer or extension of the literal meaning itself; he offers separate etymologies for a single word when its meaning becomes different, and even with a metaphoric meaning. We may note that even Pāṇini did not consider *Lakṣaṇā* as a separate function of words.[1]

If etymology is taken as an accessory to the study of meaning, it is not always the absolute or the correct etymology that is important. Even popular etymology or false etymology may be equally useful in understanding the meaning really intended by the authors, if they also believed in such etymologies. The Vedas suggest and the Brāhmanas explain several etymologies, though many of them are fanciful and speculative. Most of the Indian poets are fond of fanciful etymologies of words. The etymologies of *Umā* and *Aparṇā* given by Kālidāsa are obviously fanciful. Though the correct etymology of *Rājan* is from the root *rāj*, to shine, Kālidāsa seems to prefer the derivation from *Rañj*, to please; so we may assume when Kālidāsa uses the word *rājan*, he intends also to suggest the quality of pleasing all as associated with royalty, rather than pomp and show. Kālidāsa's derivation of *Kṣatra* (*kṣatāt trāyate iti;* see *Raghuvaṁśa* II. 53) and the Purānic derivation of *Puttra* (*putaḥ trāyate iti;* see *Mahābhārata*, I.74.37, *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.107.12) have become the accepted ones with the Indian people. Thus in the interpretation of texts even the so-called false etymology is as important as analogy and cannot be neglected by students of semantics.

Modern etymology, or the investigation of the origin and development of the forms and meanings of words may not always be of great help in interpreting texts. If the term *Minister* originally meant 'a servant', that does not help in understanding the meaning of the word in modern usage; for neither the writers

1. See my paper 'Pāṇini's Attitude Towards Lakṣaṇā', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 1966.

nor the general public use the term with the knowledge of the original meaning.

It may be noted that even though etymology was often used in India as a tool for the proper interpretation of texts, it was not allowed to have an absolute power in deciding the meaning. The Mīmāṁsakas made a clear distinction between interpretation based on etymology (*yoga*) and interpretation based on conventionally established usage (*rūḍhi*), and laid down the principle that *rūḍhi* is always stronger than *Yoga;* that the etymological interpretation, if in conflict with the conventional usage, must always be overruled by the latter. This maxim is accepted by other schools of thought as well.[2]

Etymology is often used as an accessory to the interpretation of words to show that the ideas conventionally associated with the words are actually present in the structure of the words themselves. Bhoja uses the term *nirukti* to this discovering of the senses conventionally associated with the words in the grammatical structure of the words themselves. Prof. Raghavan has discussed it in detail in his *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.*[3]

It is clear that when used as a tool for interpretation in this manner, etymology has no necessity to find out the absolute meaning of words. The words could be derived in different ways to suit the context, textual and situational. This need to lay stress on the semantic aspect is pointed out in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (II.102).

Yāvatāmeva dhātūnām liṅgam rūḍhi-gatam bhavet |
arthaś cāpyabhidheyas syāt tāvadbhir guṇa-vigrahaḥ ||

When Yāska is criticised for his lack of historical insight, or for his lack of consistency, by modern scholars,[4] this fundamental background is not taken into consideration.

2. *Indian Theories of Meaning,* Adyar Library, 1963, p. 66.
3. Pp. 633-47.
4. Hannes Skōld, *The Nirukta,* Lund, 1926.

PROBLEMS OF MEANING

BY

PROF. P. THIRUJNANASAMBANDHAN

Of all forms of symbolism Language is the most highly developed, most subtle and most complicated. The function of the linguistic symbol is to convey meaning and that is rendered by certain sound patterns with certain mental contents which we call the meaning. 'Unmeaning language is without blossom and fruit' proclaims the Ṛg Veda—'adhenvā carati māyayaiṣa vācam śuśruvān aphalām apuṣpām'.

'In my act of symbolical reference' says Palmer, 'we must distinguish three factors, the material symbol, the objective thing or quality or event to which reference is made and the mind which perceives both material symbol and referend and relates them one to the other'. When the word 'apple' is uttered, it is the mental content which it expresses and which it is calculated to evoke in the mind of the hearer that constitutes the meaning of the word. This trio of word, meaning and their relation and the eternality of all these are recognised by the Sanskrit grammarians like Kātyāyana and Patañjali and by Mīmāṁsakas like Jaimini in their statements 'Siddhe śabdārthasambandhe', 'Autpattikas tu śabdasya arthena sambandhaḥ' etc. Of these three, according to Stern, 'the word is the most substantial part of the mental content and it is through the word that the fugitive operations of thought receive sufficient impressiveness and power of preservation to survive the moment and to be reproduced. The Indian grammarian charged with the task of laying down the norm of correct expression likewise naturally lays the greatest emphasis on the word (śabda) and even goes further and exalts it to a position of Highest Reality called 'Sabda Brahman'. No idea can be conceived without the aid of 'word', nor can any idea be more effectively conveyed than by a 'word' are the articles of faith of the grammarian philosopher Bhartṛhari. He says—'Na so'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte, anuviddham iva jñānam sarvam śabdena bhāsate'.

It may be noted in passing that for him the true word or śabda is not the articulate sound that we make but is beyond and behind it. That is called the 'sphoṭa' the highest manifestation of the Absolute Reality. Order of letters in a word and of words in a sentence are only orders in the expressed word or sentence which merely manifest the sphoṭa. There is no such order in the conceptual word or sentence, the Vākyasphoṭa which alone is the real language. Objects primarily exist in the mind and only in a secondary sense in the world of experience. The logicians and the Mīmāṁsakas like the modern linguists however do not admit any such Supra-Reality over and above the words that we articulate.

Bhartṛhari indicates the different stages of manifestation of speech which is more metaphysical than linguistic but in India Science was not divorced from Metaphysics. 'Nāda' identified with Brahman, when it has the potentiality for articulation, is called 'parā'. The same when associated with the mind, the intellect and finally the vocal organs, is called 'paśyantī', 'madhyamā' and 'vaikharī' respectively. The Sphoṭa, the ultimate basis and Reality of speech, nay of the whole universe, is One, Indivisible and Eternal. All the hundreds of languages spoken in the world are only the varied manifestations of that One Reality just as the multicoloured plumage of the peacock, to use the imagery of Bhartṛhari, has its source in the inchoate colourless fluid of the peacock's egg.

Language as a vehicle of verifiable meaning is the subject matter of Semantics. Unlike its development in the West, in India it arose as a harmonising force between sensuous and suprasensuous experiences. What does a word signify? This question has been tackled by the different schools of Indian Philosophy in different ways. A word is meaningful only to those who have an awareness of the relation between the word and its referend. This relation is called the power or Śakti of words. If one does not know what power the word 'table' has to convey, the word is as good as nothing for him.

The direct meaning conveyed by a word through the primary power of 'abhidhā' as it is called, is the one fixed by convention and usage. Since the origin of this convention could not be attributed to any single individual or body of men, the logicians guided by

their atomic theories of causation were led to believe that God is the originator of this convention. The Mīmāṁsaka, the Vedic interpreter on the other hand, believing as he does, in the eternality of Sound, holds that this power is inherent in the word itself and not something external to it imparted either by God or by man. Apart from this direct meaning fixed by convention, man is found to use words in a more or less different sense with a view to gain some rhetorical effect or to suggest something in a striking manner. Let us take an expression of the late Winston Churchill, 'I have nothing to offer but blood and toil, tears and sweat' or again the statement, 'Lālā Lajpat Rai is the *lion* of the Punjab'. Certainly the primary meaning fixed by convention is not the one intended in these statements. The listeners too understood the true import of the metaphorical expression, conveyed by the secondary significative power called 'lakṣaṇā'. A word according to Indian Rhetoricians has a tertiary power called suggestive power or 'vyañjanā' which gives rise to the suggestive sense or 'Vyaṅgyārtha' which is recognised as the very soul of Poetry and a reservoir of poetic relish. For example the statement that 'the sun is set' gives rise to a variety of meanings to the several types of people. To a pious brahmin it means that it is the time for his evening ablutions; to a shepherd it means that it is the time for shepherding his flock homewards; to the longing lover it means that the time for meeting his spouse is drawing near.

Another aspect of the problem of meaning is the change of meaning. Words are not strictly limited to a fixed and definite significance as mathematical symbols are. For example, the word 'engagement' has several meanings in different contexts. 'Their engagement will be announced'. 'I have another engagement today'. 'His engagement will be terminated' etc. It also differs with the interests of the speaker. The word 'play' suggests different ideas to a musician, a gambler, a cricketer and an actor. The different factors which determine the meaning of a word have been indicated by logicians as grammar, lexicon, context, authoritative pronouncement, usage etc. The meaning of a word is liable to change in the course of its history, one aspect or other of the complex referend receiving an emphasis now and then to the neglect of another. This leads to the restriction or expansion or transference of meaning. The word 'ennai' in Tamil expressions like 'Thengāyennai, etc. is an instance of expansion.

It is used in the wider sense of 'oil', though it originally meant only the oil extracted from sesamum. Statements like 'The *pen* is mightier than the *sword*,' '*Surabhi paṅkajam*' etc., contain words which are illustrative of semantic changes. Expectancy, mutual compatibility, proximity and intention are other factors which help in some way in determining the relation of words to each other and render an expression meaningful and valid.

Another problem connected with the significance of word engaged the attention of Indian thinkers for a long time. The Sāṅkhyas contend that a word denotes an individual object. When 'A' utters the words 'Bring me a racket' what does the word 'racket' convey? Does it convey the meaning of that individual object, the racket in the house of 'A' which is brought by 'B'? If so, when 'C' asks 'B' to bring his racket he cannot bring C's, because the word racket means only one individual racket. This is obviously untenable. So the Mīmāṁsaka said that a word means primarily only the 'universal' associated with a class of individuals. The word 'racket' means the generalised character of the whole class of rackets and so it applies to all the rackets at all times anywhere. This universal meaning is automatically restricted to the individual object in the context in which the words are uttered. This is possible because of the intimate relation between the universal and the individual. Each individual has a peculiar power (viśeṣa) to manifest the relevant universal and therefore each individual is not capable of manifesting each and every universal associated with the several individuals. It is not to be meant that a knowledge of the individual is preceded by a knowledge of the universal. The individual 'cow' and the universal 'cowness' are so to say identical. The word 'cow' means cowness, yet by implication it means the individual possessed of the generic attribute of cowness. This is the view of the Bhāṭṭa School of Mīmāṁsā.

The logician on the other hand takes the word to mean the 'individual' qualified by the 'universal' because it is the individual alone which is capable of being manipulated by action. The notion of number, gender etc. can be meaningful only with individuals. But at the same time a 'Chair' is a 'Chair' because it has something common with all 'chairs'. Similarly verbs like 'going' stand for universal action or succession of events. So the 'universal' cannot be ignored. Every word, according to the ancient

logicians, also refers to the image of the thing referred to besides the Universal and the 'individual'. Gautama, the founder of the school of Indian Logic therefore takes all these three together as the meaning of words—'Vyaktyākṛtijātayastu padārthāḥ'. One or the other of these may be dominant and the other subordinate in the referend in different words. Individuals are the base of the 'universal'. Any reference to a 'universal' is to that which is manifest in individuals and not to an abstracted 'universal'. A 'cow' therefore means an object endowed with certain peculiar features and characterised by 'cowness'.

The Jainas like the logicians refer to the 'universal' cum 'particular' as the referend. But this 'universal' is twofold. One is 'horizontal' the one which exists in similarity of pattern in existing objects of a class. The other is 'vertical' which is similarity in content of those objects for all times.

Buddhists hold that the Reality is not communicable and the communicated is unreal. A word does not indicate a positive content but only that it is other than what it is not. The word cow means what is not a non-cow. Universal, according to them is an unreal construction of our mind. Nevertheless it is necessary for the proper functioning of our knowledge. The referend is not a permanent 'universal', but a unique individual (svalakṣaṇa), an individual negated from others (apoha). This view certainly militates against our experience which is positive in character. But everyone, whether he is a Jain or Buddhist, a logician or Mīmāṁsaka, agrees that meaning involves some sort of 'universal'.

Vast and varied are the discussions held by Indian philosophers on the problem of meaning and an attempt has been made here to touch upon a few of them.

A BHAGAVATĪ SHRINE IN KERALA

BY

DR. M. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN

Mundyamparambu *Kṣetram* (the Bhagavatī shrine at Mundyamparambu) is a very famous shrine in North Malabar and continues to be a typical grove temple to this day. It is situated on the hillock in Aralam amsom-and-desom in Kottayam taluk. If one gets down at Tellicherry railway station and takes the bus going to Coorg, one has to get down at the 30th mile from Tellicherry and walk towards the east. Then one has to cross the *Iruttippuzha*, walk through forest paths and ascend the Thupparttu hills to reach the shrine of the goddess, simple and austere, surrounded by groves. When asked for the name of the goddess, I was informed that the name of the place itself will not be told after it is twelve noon. They told me in Malayalam that the goddess is known as *Tharakku Mithal Bhagavatī* and the place as *Ucha Thirinjal Parayatha Dikku* (the quarter which will not be told after it is twelve noon). I was made to understand that the name of the goddess should never be uttered and that her name is known only to *Ponnan Pattali*.

The position of the *Pattali* in this temple is supreme and all the religious and ritualistic acts concerned with the goddess can take place only with his ultimate sanction. In the affairs of this Bhagavatī temple his voice is paramount and such a person separates himself from his own Nair tarawad the moment the Velichapāḍ of the Bhagavatī chooses him to the place of *Pattali* from one among the ten Nair tarawads in Kararambu which lies a mile and a half away to the south of the temple. Now except two Nair tarawads the rest have disintegrated. These are: (i) Chulliari Tarawad and (ii) Chembocheri Tarawad. The *Pattali* whom I met belongs to the Chulliari tarawad. The moment he is chosen to this high office in the shrine, he is given a gold bangle which he wears on his right wrist. It can never be removed till he dies. Then it is taken off and his relatives send it to the temple where it is kept till another is chosen to his place by the Velichapad from the existing tarawads. The *Pattali* has no bonds with his nearest

kin and he observes no birth and death pollutions,—even when his mother dies. He says he is responsible only to the goddess. But the *Pattali* can be a married man. He observes continence only on auspicious days.

After the death of a *Pattali* his new successor is chosen on the last day (Sankaramam Day) of a Malayalam month. It is the Velichapad who takes the bangle from the temple and puts it on the right wrist of the person chosen as *Pattali* under the guidance and inspiration of Bhagavatī. Thus we find the roles played by the *Pattali* Nair and Vellichapad in the history of the shrine. The chief priest of the goddess is a Nambudiri brahmin. Two Nambudiri *Illakkārs* (house members) of Mānngāḍ and Kīzhpāḍ, however, perform priestly functions in this shrine in alternative succession every year. So by turn the *Illakkārs* serve the goddess. There is also a Nambudiri tantri to the shrine. He belongs to Vaelangara *illam* in the Kottayam taluk.

I heard from the *Ponnan Pattali* that the Nair descendants of the Yādavas (cowherds) are chosen as *Pattali* in this shrine. They say that the Bhagavatī Herself originated in that community as Māyā, the daughter of Yaśodā, the cowherdess. They also believe that the two *asuras* (demons) Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa were killed at this place by the Divine Mother. I was shown a rice field in front of the shrine. It is now known as *Asthikkāḍu* (forest of bones), the belief being that the bones of the *asuras* were found there. I saw no image of the Bhagavatī, but two bell-metal mirrors. One represents Śiva and the other Śakti. The *Pattali* told me that the power of the seven mothers is centred in this one goddess whose name must not in fulfilment of a sacred vow be pronounced.

Kalaśa: The Kalaśa Sthāna is an open space near the temple where the following religious rites are being performed. The Karimbalan (a man belonging to the Karimbalan caste), by profession a honey-collector, is the priest for this function. After his bath he comes to the spot wearing a red cloth around has waist. He places the offerings to the goddess such as *aval* (beaten rice), *ari* (raw rice), cocoanut, cocoanut water, toddy, arrack, fowl, goat and a red liquid called *Gurusi* at the *Kalaśa Sthāna*. Then the animals are slaughtered. A sword is given to him for the occasion from the temple with which he cuts on his head. After

killing the animals he gives out *Kalpana*. They call this *Madhyama Pūjā* (mediocre worship) for the goddess. The celebration of Kalaśa is considered as one of the Vazhipāḍus (a way of propitiation) to the deity. My attention was drawn to innumerable clusters of trees (groves). The names of six very important groves are (i) Nārāyaṇikkāvu, (ii) Panakkorakkāvu, (iii) Ola'k-kāvu, (iv) Viruthoḍikkāvu, (v) Moonrāmkutthikkāvu and (vi) Maruthiyottukkāvu.

In the Nārāyaṇikkāvu alone a secret worship is carried out by the *Pattali* and the Nambudiri priest at about 2 P.M. on two days in a year, i.e., on the 20th of the Malayalam month, *Dhanus* (December) and on the 25th of *Meḍam* (April). The chief priest and the *Pattali* without talking to each other visit this Kāvu and perform certain very mysterious ritualistic acts, each in his own way unassisted by the other. This worship is not allowed to be seen by any spectator and the place should not be visited by any except these two and that only on the two days of the year mentioned above. When I asked what kind of worship they performed there, the *Pattali* refused to tell me. Religious beliefs are still very strong in the hearts of professional priests.

During the *Thira* festival, the Vaṇṇāns dress themselves in the forms of Śiva and Bhagavatī and dance. In this temple there is no *Pūram* festival or the celebration of *Pāṭṭu*. I was told that in the beginning one Vaṇṇān called *Kalladi* dresses himself in the aspect of Śiva. At the end of the festival the same *Kalladi* dresses in the form of Bhagavatī. These festivals occur twice in a year, i.e., on the 10th, 11th and 12th in *Dhanus* (December) and the 13th, 14th and 15th in *Meḍam* (April). In 1931, this shrine, till then private, was declared public.

YĀMUNĀCĀRYA'S INFLUENCE ON RĀMĀNUJA

BY

DR. M. NARASIMHACHARY

Yāmunācārya, known in Tamil as *"Āḷavandār"*, was Rāmānuja's grandteacher (*paramācārya*). He, along with his grandfather Nāthamuni, the first Śrīvaiṣṇava teacher of the South, had been accorded the central position in the galaxy of Śrīvaiṣṇava-ācāryas.[1] Although Nāthamuni also wrote in Sanskrit works like the *Yogarahasya* and the *Nyāyatattva*, we do not have any of them. It is therefore with Yāmuna that our knowledge of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of thought in Sanskrit commences. He played an important role in promoting the cause of the Viśiṣṭādvaita religion and philosophy by bringing out a series of compostions in Sanskrit covering the religious and philosophical aspects. He wrote the *Catuśślokī* (*Śrīstuti*), the *Stotraratna* (*Āḷavandārstotra*), the *Gītārthasaṅgraha*, the *Āgamaprāmāṇya*,[2] the *Siddhitraya* (comprising *Ātma°*, *Īśvara°* and *Saṁvit siddhis*), the *Puruṣanirṇaya* and the *Kāśmīrāgamaprāmāṇya*, of which the last two are not available. He is said to have been born in 918 A.D. and breathed his last in 1038 A.D.

The great position that Rāmānuja attained as the *bhāṣyakāra* of this school led to the comparative neglect of the contributions of his great predecessor, Yāmuna. In this paper, an attempt has been made to indicate the influence of Yāmuna on Rāmānuja, as understood from their works.

A close comparison of the *Śrībhāṣya* (commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*) of Rāmānuja with the *Siddhitraya* of Yāmuna re-

1. *Cf.* the following verse attributed to Kūreśa, the foremost disciple of of Rāmānuja:

"lakṣmīnāthasamārambhāṁ nāthayāmunamadhyamāṁ
asmadācāryaparyantāṁ vande guruparamparāṁ"

This is also quoted in the *Prapannāmṛta* (Lakshmivenkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1907), ch. 116, p. 456.

2. A critical edition and study of this work prepared by the present writer is being published in the *GOS*, Baroda.

veals that the latter formed the source of the former. The establishment that the self (*ātman*) is the entity called "*ahaṁ*" (I), the knower (*jñātṛ*), is done by Rāmānuja on the model of the *Ātmasiddhi*.[3] Not only are some of the passages of the *Ātmasiddhi* like "*śāntāṅgāra*" and "*vyaṅgyavyaṅktṛtvaṁ*[4] quoted by Rāmānuja but several others are paraphrased with slight modifications. The opening verse of the *Śrībhāṣya* runs almost like the opening verse of the *Ātmasiddhi*.[5] The *śāstrayonitva*-section of the *Śrībhāṣya* (I. i. 3) follows almost verbatim the *Īśvarasiddhi*. It may be pointed out in this connection that the vulgate text of the *Īśvarasiddhi* sets forth the *pūrvapakṣa*-arguments of the Mīmāṁsaka and the Naiyāyika regarding the existence of God, and ends somewhat abruptly. There must have originally existed a further portion setting forth the author's own view (*siddhānta*) on the matter as a Viśiṣṭāvaitin, based on scriptural authority. The *siddhānta*-view given by Rāmānuja in his *Śrībhāṣya*[6] in this regard might indicate what Yāmuna himself might have said on this question. The passages of the *Saṁvit siddhi* are also adopted by Rāmānuja so as to refute the Advaitic doctrines of *Saṁvidadvaita* (the Monism of Consciousness), *Sadadvaita* (the Monism of Existence), *Māyā*, the unreality of the world, *Mukti*, etc.

The view that the world of spirit and matter is a mode or *prakāra* (*itthaṁbhāva*) of the Brahman, stated by Yāmuna in his *Saṁvitsiddhi* is clearly analysed and adopted by Rāmānuja.[7] The

3. *Cf. Siddhitraya: Ātma°* (N. S. Press, 1954), pp. 70-110; *Śrībhāṣya* under I.i.1 (Benaras, 1891), pp. 233-310.

4. *Ātma°*, pp. 94-95; *Śrībhāṣya*, pp. 285-87.

5. *Vide Śrībhāṣya*: "akhilabhuvanajanmasthemabhaṅgādilīle
vinatavividhabhūtavrātarakṣaikadīkṣe
śrutiśirasi vidīpte brahmaṇi śrīnivāse
bhavatu mama parasmin śemuṣī bhaktirūpā"

Ātmasiddhi: "prakṛtipuruṣakālavyaktamuktā yadicchāṁ
anuvidadhati nityaṁ nityasiddhairanekaiḥ
svaparicaraṇabhogaiśśrīmati prīyamāṇe
bhavatu mama parasmin pūruṣe bhaktibhūmā".

6. *Vide Śrībhāṣya* under I.i.3, p. 667, ff.

7. See *Saṁvit°*, pp. 275-79; *cf. Śrībhāṣya* under I.i.1, pp. 555, 576, 586, etc., and *Vedārthasaṅgraha* (with English translation, Mysore, 1956), pp. 8, 14, etc.

chief characteristic of the Viśiṣṭādvaita, *viz.*, that the Brahman is One (*advaita*) and that He is qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) by the sentient and insentient entities which form His modes, from which this system derives its name,[8] hinges upon the concept of *"śarīra-śarīri-bhāva"* or *"śeṣa-śeṣi-bhāva"*.[9] This concept which is traced in Yāmuna's works gained new impetus and stress at the hands of Rāmānuja.

The refutation of the explanation offered by the Advaitins for the text *"tattvamasi"* (Chāndogya VI.viii.6) found in the *Saṁvit°*, finds its echo in the *Śrībhāṣya*.[10] That the secondary significance (*lakṣaṇā*) of words is applied only to one of the two terms appearing in *"sāmānādhikaraṇya"*-statements like *"tattvamasi"* and *"satyaṁ jñānamanantaṁ brahma"* (Taittirīya II. i. 1), and that one and the same entity can be treated as being different (*bheda*) as well as non-different (*abheda*) according to delimiting factors like time and place, which are referred to briefly in the *Saṁvit°*, are set forth in great detail by Rāmānuja in his *Śrībhāṣya* and the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*.[11]

Another important tenet of Rāmānuja's philosophy, *viz.*, the conception of knowledge as an eternal and invariable attribute (*dharmaviśeṣa* or *prakāra*) of the individual self (*ātman*), technically called *dharmabhūtajñāna*, finds its basis in the *Ātmasiddhi* of Yāmuna.[12] On the authority of Veṅkaṭanātha (also known as Vedānta Deśika)[13] we know that the portion of Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṅgraha* dealing with the Supremacy of Viṣṇu is based on the *Puruṣanirṇaya* of Yāmuna, which, however, is not available. The *Vaikuṇṭha°* and the *Śaraṇāgati-gadyas* of Rāmānuja are inspired and guided by the *Stotraratna* and the *Gītārthasaṅgraha*

8. See *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* (*Kāñcī*, 1940) I. p. 187:
"aśeṣacidacitprakāram brahmaikameva tattvam; tatra prakāraprakāriṇoḥ prakārāṇām ca mitho 'tyantabhede'pi viśiṣṭaikyādivivakṣayaikatvavyapadeśaḥ", etc.

9. *Ātma°*, p. 134; *Saṁvit°*, p. 279, etc.

10. See *Saṁvit°*, p. 286 ff.; *cf. Śrībhāṣya*, p. 546, ff.

11. See *Saṁvit°*, pp. 287-8; *cf. Śrībhāṣya*, pp. 336, 546, ff., and *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, p. 22, ff.

12. *Ātma°*, pp. 161, 172 ff.; *cf. Vedārthasaṅgraha*, p. 45, ff.

13. See *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* III. p. 225 and *Saccaritrarakṣā* (Kāñcī, 1940), I. p. 46.

of Yāmuna. The commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* by Rāmānuja is chiefly based on the *Gītārthasaṅgraha*. The opening verse of the *Vaikuṇṭha-gadya*[14] makes clear the fact that Rāmānuja followed Yāmuna in forming the concept of *Bhakti*. The passage at the beginning of the *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*[15] of Rāmānuja, referring to Śrī, is influenced by Yāmuna's *Catuśślokī* regarding the Doctrine of Surrender (*śaraṇāgati* or *prapatti*) to Śrī. The explanations offered by Rāmānuja in his *Śrībhāṣya* on the *Pāśupata*° (II. ii. 36-39) and the *Pāñcarātra-adhikaraṇas* (II. ii. 40-43) are based on the interpretation of these sections given in the *Āgamaprāmāṇya*.[16]

The introductory verse of Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṅgraha*[17] brings out the role played by Yāmuna as his predecessor in the field. Tradition records that Rāmānuja was attracted to Yāmuna after listening to his *Stotraratna*, particularly the verse *"svābhāvikānavadhika"*,[18] etc.

It may therefore be stated in fine that Yāmuna was mainly responsible for the building up of the system of thought later characterised as Viśiṣṭādvaita, and that the task of promoting it as a regular system was left in the hands of Rāmānuja.[19] The devotion and regard which Rāmānuja had for this great teacher can well be understood by the following verse ascribed to Rāmānuja himself:

"yatpadāmbhoruhadhyānavidhvastāśeṣakalmaṣaḥ
vastutāmupayāto 'haṁ yāmuneyaṁ namāmi taṁ".

14. *Cf.* "yāmunāryasudhāmbhodhimavagāhya yathāmati
ādāya bhaktiyogākhyaṁ ratnaṁ saṁdarśayāmyaham"

15. See *Catuśślokī*, particularly verse 2: "yasyāste.." etc.; cf. *Śaraṇāgati-gadya*: "oṁ bhagavannārāyaṇābhimata.." etc.

16. See *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (Benaras, 1900 A.D.), pp. 46-47 and 54 ff. respectively.

17. *Vide*: "paraṁ brahmaivājñaṁ bhramaparigataṁ" etc.

18. Verse 11. See *Prapannāmṛta* IX. p. 22.

19. Cf. Vedānta Deśika's *Tattvamuktākalāpa* (Kāñcī, 1941), V. 136: "nāthopajñaṁ pravṛttaṁ bahubhirupacitaṁ yāmuneyaprabandhaiḥ
trātaṁ samyagyatīndrairidamakhilatamaḥkarśanam darśanaṁ naḥ".

UDĀHARAṆA

*A Minor Composition in Sanskrit Literature**

BY

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Udāharaṇa is an interesting species of minor composition (*Kṣudraprabandha*),[1] little known in Sanskrit literature, being much neglected. It is a panegyric (*Cāṭuprabandha*) illustrating all the eight case-endings[1a] (*Vibhaktis*). The term "*Udāharaṇa*" in Sanskrit means an illustration, and hence is the title of this particular composition. The composition is based on a belief that the presiding deities of all the case-endings become pleased when they are invoked and thereby shower their blessings on the poet and his patron. This is explained in the following passage of the *Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha*[2] of Amṛtānanda-yogin:

virājantī kīrtimatī subhagā bhogamālinī
kalāvatī kāntimatī kamalā jayavatyapi
etā vibhaktyadhiṣṭhātryo devatāḥ kathitā budhaiḥ
dadatyetās stutiprītās svasvanāma-samam phalam

The deities of the eight case-endings are Virājantī, Kīrtimatī, Subhagā, Bhogamālinī, Kalāvatī, Kāntimatī, Kamalā, and Jayavatī. When invoked, they bless the poet and his patron.

The general purpose of the *Udāharaṇa* composition is either to eulogise the greatness of a deity or to sing the glory of the poet's patron or his mentor. For example, the *Śiva-udāharaṇa*[3]

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1. On the kṣudra-prabandhas, see also my Professor's 'Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa', (1963), pp. 631-2.

1a. nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.

2. edn. The Theosophic Society, Adyar, Madras, 1949, ch. 11.

3. manuscript (ms.) no. 4478, Andhra Sahitya Parishad, Kakinada, Andhra.

glorifies the god Śiva and the *Cikkadevarāyā-udāharaṇa*[4] eulogises king Cikkadevarāya (1704-1732 A.D.). Hence the heroes of this composition are said to be divine beings, kings and such others. With regard to this, the *Prabandha-dīpikā*[5] says as follows:

bhaveyur yatra netāras surāsuramahā(ī)surāḥ
guravaḥ kṣoṇipālāśca sāmantās sacivādayaḥ

It says that the hero for the *Udāharaṇa* composition may be one of these—a divine being, a demon, a learned high-caste human being, a teacher, a king or a feudatory prince.

The Sanskrit *Udāharaṇa* composition seems to have been in vogue as early as the first century A.D., since we find references to the term *Udāharaṇa* in some works of Kālidāsa:

cāraṇebhyas tvadīyam jayodāharaṇam śrutvā
tvāmihasthāmupagataḥ *Vikramorvaśīya* I. 13-14

patre niveśitamudāharaṇam priyāyāḥ
Vikramorvaśīya II. 4

jayodāharaṇam bāhvor gāpayāmāsa kinnarān
Raghuvaṁśa IV. 78

But these references do not give us any definite picture of the structure of the *Udāharaṇa*. However, in the later literature, we have a few unpublished pieces of this composition like the *Śiva-udāharaṇa*,[6] the *Cikkadevarāya-udāharaṇa*,[7] and the *Raghuvīra-udāharaṇa*.[8] We also find a few *Udāharaṇas* in some rhetorical treatises—the *Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa*[9] of Kandālārya illustrates the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa* and the *Kavitāvatāra*[10] of Puruṣottama-sudhī gives the *Nāgabhūpāla-udāharaṇa*. A rhetorical work called the

4. ms. R3919(c), The Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (G.O.M.L.).

5. Quoted in Gauraṇa's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* (15th c. A.D.); ms. D12952, G.O.M.L., Madras. See "Gauraṇa and his Sanskrit Works", by P. Sarasvati Mohan, (D. C. Sarasvati), Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, Vol. XX, Parts 1 & 2, 1965.

6. ms. 4478, Andhra Sahitya Parishad, Kakinada, Andhra.

7. ms. R3919(c), G.O.M.L., Madras.

8. ms. cat. 1, p. 254, The Oriental Library, Mysore.

9. ms. R168, G.O.M.L., Madras.

10. ms. R2226, G.O.M.L., Madras.

Sāhitya-kallolinī[11] of Bhāṣyakāra mentions two *Udāharaṇas*—the *Rāmānuja-udāharaṇa* and the *Raṅganātha-udāharaṇa*.[12] It is interesting to note that all these *Udāharaṇas* are written only in the southern part of India. It is also believed by some that the *Udāharaṇa* composition originated from the South Indian literatures, particularly those of Telugu and Kannaḍa languages.[13]

Of the two main divisions of Sanskrit poetry, *Kāvya* the major poem (*Mahākāvya*) and the minor poem (*Khaṇḍa-kāvya*), the *Udāharaṇa* is brought under the latter, being a minor composition. As the *Udāharaṇa* composition consists partly of prose and partly of verse, it comes under proso-poetic or *Campū* variety of Sanskrit literature. This minor variety of *Campū* or proso-poetic composition is given a new name *Upa-campū*" (upa = minor) by a 14th century rhetorician named Viśveśvara in his *Camatkāra-candrikā*.[14]

Coming to a brief description of the *Udāharaṇa*, it consists of eight divisions,[15] each having a verse followed by two prose passages called *Kalikā* and *Utkalikā*. These eight parts are devoted to the eight case-endings in their order.[16] The composition should

11. ms. D12964, G.O.M.L., Madras.

12. Perhaps this is the same as the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa* mentioned above.

13. Sanskrit *Udāharaṇa* is almost a copy of Telugu *Udāharaṇa*. Vide "The History of Udaharana Literature" (Telugu), by Nidudavolu Venkata Rao, pub. Madras University, Madras, 1950.

14. śravyam ca kathitam campūr upacampūr iti dvidhā
ch. III, R2679, G.O.M.L., Madras.
See critical edition (being published) by P. Sarasvati Mohan (D. C. Sarasvati), Delhi.

15. This division is called "Skandha" (branch) in the *Padārtha-dīpikā* of Gauraṇa (15th c. A.D.), ms. D12951, G.O.M.L., Madras:
aṣṭavibhakti skandhāt[m]akam etadevodāharaṇam
Viśveśvara names this division as *Bhadra* in his *Camatkāra-candrikā* (ms. R2679, G.O.M.L., Madras):
padyānantarabaddhānām gadyānām hi yathāruci
avaiṣamyādiyattāyā niyamo *bhadra*mucyate
Hence he brings the *Udāharaṇa* under *Aṣṭabhadra* variety, i.e., one which has eight *Bhadras*.

16. *Amṛtānanda* in his *Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha* says that sometimes these case-endings may not follow any order:
vibhaktighaṭanā cātra yathākāmam krameṇa vā
However we do not find any specimen for this variety.

observe pause (*yati*) and abound in alliteration. Towards the end, it winds up with an account of the poet and his production.[16a]

The main eight verses are written in an elaborate and high-flown language abounding in lengthly compounds and alliterations. The first verse begins with a term of victory called "*Jayati*" or "*Jayatu*", wishing victory to the hero. It is also couched in a metre called "*Mālinī*"[17] which has fifteen syllables in each quarter. The remaining seven verses are written in *Śakvarī* group of metres with fourteen syllables in each line. The following is the opening verse of the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa*, illustrated by Kandālārya in his *Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa*:[18]

jayatu jayatu bhāmācārudormadhyasīmā
sakalaśubhadanāmā saccidānandabhūmā
varasuguṇalalāmā vaijayantyākhyadāmā
sajalajaladadhāmā santatam raṅgadhāmā

Here we see the verse beginning with '*Jayatu*" meaning "may the hero be victorious". This verse being the first verse of the composition, all the compounds are in the first or nominative case-ending. Each line of this verse has fifteen syllables. The composition is full of compounds alliterating beautifully.[19]

16a. An illustration of the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa* is given in the appendix.

17. Gaṇas—na,na,ma,ya,ya
———, ———, ⏑⏑⏑, —⏑⏑,—⏑⏑
— short syllable
⏑ long syllable

18. ms. R168, G.O.M.L., Madras.

19. The relevant portions dealing with these verses in various Sanskrit rhetorical works are given here:

jayatipada mālinīvṛtta dṛṣṭa (aṣṭa) śloka
sahita satāla sādyantaprāsa .....
Alaṅkāra-rāghava

jayatyupakramair mālinyādyaiḥ padyair manoharam
netṛnāmāṅkitaiḥ prāsānvitair aṣṭavibhaktibhiḥ
Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa

kalpanīyāni padyāni sapta saptavibhaktibhiḥ
sambodhanātmikā cānte vibhaktistvaṣṭamī bhavet
śakvarīprabhṛtīni syus chandāṁsyasya yathāruci
rītiḥ pradhānā gauḍīyā gatissyād drutamadhyamā
ojaḥprasādhanāḥ śabdās sānuprāsāḥ kvacit kvacit
vibhaktighaṭanā cātra yathākāmam krameṇa vā
tatrādyam mālinīvṛttam jayetyādisamanvitam

* * * *

We have noted above that each of these verses is followed by a metrical prose passage called *Kalikā*. This *Kalikā* is written in an indigenous metre called *Ragaḍā*[20] prevalent in some of the South Indian languages. The *Ragaḍā* is a type of musical composition cut at different stops and fully alliterated. This can be sung in different musical patterns and hence it makes the *Udāharaṇa* a quasi-musical composition. The *Kalikā* consists of eight lines or sentences (*dalas*). It opens with words "*api ca*" meaning "and also" and the case ending in each of these agrees with that of its

pratipadyam bhavennetṛnāma tattadvibaktitaḥ
Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha
ojaḥprāyaguṇopetair gauḍīrītisamanvitaḥ
aṣṭabhiḥ kathitam padyaiḥ kalikotkalikākramaiḥ
padyena navamenānte hṛdyam sarvavibhaktitaḥ
jayetyupakramam proktā(a)mudāharaṇamīdṛśam
atra sarvāṇi padyāni netṛnāmāṅkitāni ca
śakvaryādinibaddāni mālinīvṛttamādimam
Padārtha-dīpikā
śakvaryādimahācchandonibaddho yā(a)tra dṛśyate
padye padye kramo(ā)deta[n]netṛnāma vibhaktiyut
jayetyādipadopetam mālinivṛttamādimam
Prabandha-dīpikā
sambodhanavibhaktyantam prathamādivibhaktitaḥ
ojaḥprāyaguṇopetair gauḍīrītisamanvitaiḥ
aṣṭabhiḥ kalpitam padyaiḥ .....
padye .. me .. ntaḥ hṛdyam sārvavibhaktinā
jayatyupakramam proktam udāharaṇamīdṛśam
atra sarvāṇi padyāni netṛnāmāṅkitāni ca
śakvaryādinibaddhāni mālinīvṛttamādimam
Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi

20. *Ragaḍā* is of nine varieties which run on different musical measures, as is shown below:

name of *ragaḍā*	*musical measure* (*tāla*)
1. *Hayapracāra-ragaḍā*	Rūpaka
2. *Turagavalgana-ragaḍā*	"
3. *Vijayamaṅgala-ragaḍā*	"
4. *Dviradagati-ragaḍā*	Jhampe
5. *Madhuragati-ragaḍā*	Eka
6. *Harigati-ragaḍā*	Nāṭa
7. *Vṛṣabhagati-ragaḍā*	Triputa
8. *Vijayabhadra-ragaḍā*	Jhampe
9. *Hariṇagati-ragaḍā*	Triputa

Vide the *Ānanda-raṅgarāṭ-chandamu* of Kastūri Raṅga-kavi for a detailed treatment of these *ragaḍās* (Telugu), Vavilla Press, Madras, pp. 148 ff.

preceding verse.[21] A passage of *Kalikā* of the fourth case-ending (dative) is illustrated here from the *Raṅgeśa-Udāharaṇa*[22] of Kandālārya:

api ca kapicayeśanāśanāvitālinandanāya
sapadi vipaditābhayībhasattamāttavandanāya
dhāṭṛsoṭṛpadmasadmatābhiśobhinābhikāya
pūtabhūtarūpagopapuṅgavāṅganābhikāya
nāmadāmadopavepanākalokanāyakāya
bhūmijāmitākalokabhuktimuktidāyakāya
pādajodakacitaracitapāpatāpakartanāya
vedavādaśṛṅgaraṅgavihitamahitavartanāya

Here we see each line ending with a dative case-ending, and the whole passage following a time beat.

Utkalikā, another prose passage following *Kalikā* is half of the *Kalikā* in size and couched in the same metre. The *Utkalikā* should also have the same case-ending as that of its preceding passage of *Kalikā*. But sometimes it may have *Vibhaktyābhāsas* or semblances of case-endings instead of the regular ones. These

21. Here are relevant portions of *Kalikā* from Sanskrit rhetorical works:

dalāṣṭakena sayatitālamātreṇa saṁyutam
ādyantaprāsaruciradaladvandvavirājitam
api cādyam śravyabandhapadabṛndopaśobhitam
vākyam vadanti kalikām kāvyālaṅkārapāragāḥ
Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa
gadyātmakadalānyaṣṭau pratyekam sayatīni ca
Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha
pratibhadram ca padyānte kalpayet kalikāṣṭakam
Camatkāra-candrikā
ādyantakā(tā)lamātrau ca yatiśve(śli)ṣṭadalāṣṭakam
dvaye dvaye ca dalayor ādyantaprāsacitritam
Padārtha-dīpikā
kiñcādye cāpi cādyā vā kalikāṣṭadalā smṛto(ā)
Prabandha-dīpikā
apicādyaṣṭadalamātrā yadi(ti)śliṣṭadalāntikam
tālastattanmātragaṇānurūpakālaṅkriyamānānvitām(?)
* * * *
dvaye dvaye ca dalayorādya[nta prā]sacitritam
śravyastabakabandhayat(?)kāvyam tat kalikocyate
Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi

22. ms. R168, G.O.M.L.

semblances should necessarily be present in the *Utkalikā* of the fourth or dative case-ending.[23] This may be seen in the following passage from the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa*:

vigrahāgrabhūsahāya-
tāgrahograbalasahāya
gāḍhagūḍhabāṇakāya
rūḍhabāḍhadornikāya
lānimānitattvarāya
tāniśānitāntarāya
yuddhabuddhakośalāya
buddhiśuddhipeśalāya

Here we see this *Utkalikā* corresponding to the *kalikā* quoted before with regard to the case-ending as well as the metre. We

23. The following are the relevant passages on the *Utkalikā* from different rhetorical works:

samastānya(?)dalam vyastaikadalañcitamantataḥ
tadardhamitamātrāḍhyam kiñcidvā nyūnamātrakam
kalikālakṣaṇayutam vākyamutkalikocyate
Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa
ante tūtkalikā kāryā samastaikapadātmikā
ante padyasamāyuktā . . . . . .
. . . . . yatyanuprāsaśobhinī
caturu(rtho)tkalikā syādvā vibhaktyābhāsalāñchitā
Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha

According to some rhetoricians, the *Utkalikā* may be less than half of *Kalikā* in size—

kalikatordh[v]amātrā vā kiñcidūnāpi no(so)jjvalā
vibhaktyābhāsan(s)amyuktā caturthī vā suśobhanā
bhavedutkalikādetā purvoktāṅkānvite ubhe(?)
Prabandha-dīpikā
tadardhamātrakam kiñcinmānamātramathāpi vā
(kiñcinnyūnamātramato'pi vā)
samaste(ai)kapade saptadaśa(la)mant[r]e pṛthagdalam
sarvatra vā caturthyā vā vibhaktyābhāsabhāsuraḥ
tālānuprāsayatibhiḥ kalikāyāmito(vo)jjvalam
kāvyamutkalikām prāhuḥ . . . . . .
Padārtha-dīpikā
tadardhamātrakam kiñcidūra(na)mātramathāpi vā
samastaikapade sapta dala[ma]nta(e) pṛthagdalam
sarvatra vā caturthyā vā vibhaktyābhāsabhāsuram
tālānuprāsayatibhiḥ kalikāyāmivojjvalam
vākyamutkalikām prāhuḥ . . . . . .
Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi

also see that most of these lines end with a semblance of fourth case-ending.

At the end of these passages, there is a *sārvavibhakṭika* verse, i.e. a verse presenting all the case-endings in their order.[24] An illustration of this verse from the *Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa* is given here:

raṅgeśo haratāmaghāni satatam raṅgeśamevāśraye
raṅgeśena kṛtārtirasmi kalaye raṅgeśayitre namaḥ
raṅgeśāt sukhamāpnuyām viracaye raṅgēśituḥ pūjanam
raṅgeśe mama bhaktirastu sudṛḍhā raṅgeśa pāhī(hi) svayam

Here we see all the case-endings for the term "Raṅgeśa".[25]

In the end, the Udāharaṇa winds up with a verse giving an account of the composer and his composition.[26] This is composed

24. navamam padyamante syāt
padyam sārvavibhaktitaḥ
vākya (padya) mekam ca kartavyam
ante sārvavibhaktikam
Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha

Viśveśvara in his *Camatkāra-candrikā* says that this verse should serve a purpose of blessing—

gadet sarvavibhaktyante padyam sāptavibhaktikam
āśīrvādasamāyuktam ityudāharaṇakramaḥ

This concluding verse is not mentioned by Vidyānātha in his *Pratāparudrīya*. However his commentator Kumāra-svāmin makes a reference to it.

25. raṅgeśo—nominative
raṅgeśam—accusative
raṅgeśena—instrumental
raṅgeśayitre—dative
raṅgeśāt—ablative
raṅgeśituḥ—genitive
raṅgeśe—locative
raṅgeśa—vocative

26. sarvāsām padyamante ca kavināyakalāñchitam
āryām vānyatamām kuryāt kaviśrutyākhyayānvitām
Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha
ante kṣudraprabandhānām āryayānuṣṭubhāpi ca
nāma prakāśayet kartur nāyakasya kṛterapi
Camatkāra-candrikā
ante'nuṣṭubhamāryām vā kavikṛtyākhyayānvitām
kuryāccāṭuprabandhānām[a]yam sādhāraṇo vidhiḥ
Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi

in an *Anuṣṭubh*[27] or *Āryā*[28] metre. This verse, however, is a general feature of all the panegyrics.

Though a minor composition, the *Udāharaṇa* presents an interesting reading with a beautiful blend of music and poetry (*Saṅgīta* and *Sāhitya*) and also with a mixture of metres of two languages. Being in praise of a deity or a patron it works well as a devotional piece as well as a panegyric. Moreover, illustrating all the case-endings, the *Udāharaṇa* also serves a grammatical purpose just like the poetic work *Bhaṭṭikāvya*[29] of Bhaṭṭi (before 650 A.D.) written mainly to illustrate grammatical rules and the eulogy *Kavi-rahasya*[30] of Halāyudha (940-56 A.D.), which is meant to illustrate different modes of vebal root.[31]

APPENDIX

Raṅgeśa-udāharaṇa

I

Verse 1

jayatu jayatu bhāmācārudormadhyasīmā
sakalaśubhadanāmā saccidānandabhūmā
varasuguṇalalāmā vaijayantyākhyadāmā
sajalajaladadhāmā santatam raṅgadhāmā

ante kaviprabandhanāmāṅkita[aṅka]padyaviśeṣam kuryāt.
Taduktam—"ante'nuṣṭubhamāryām vā".
Kumārasvāmin's commentary on
the *Pratāpa-rudrīya*

padyam kurvītāvasāne kāvyakartrākhyayānvitām
Alaṅkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa

ante'nuṣṭubhamāryām vā kāryā kṛtyābhya(khya)yānvitā
sarvacāṭuprabandhānām ayam sādhāraṇo vidhiḥ
Sāhitya-Kallolinī

27. anuṣṭubh = a metre of four quarters with eight syllables in each.
28. āryā = thirty-two syllabic instants in each verse of the couplet.
29. edn. with Jayamaṅgalāś comm. Bombay 1887.
30. Kāvyamālā X. 52-231.
31. The *Udāharaṇa* has led to the construction of many other minor compositions like the *Udāharaṇa-mañjarī* and the *Udāharaṇa-mātṛkā*. These will be dealt with in my next paper.

Kalikā 1

api ca mahīdharabhṛtyavanīdharaṇāsrapavedharasāvanavittaḥ
tapanatanūbhavaśāsvatavaibhavadāyidayābhavanāyitacittaḥ
svaruśaranāradasaṅkaraśāradacandrapaṭīravarābhasukīrtiḥ
kharakarapāvakagatyabhibhāvukakāntyatiyāvakavikrama-
pūrtiḥ
paṭujayavinnagaṇāvṛtimannagapakṣabhidannagarudratha-
vāhaḥ
tṛṭitamataṅgajavāścarasaṅgajadoṣarathāṅgaji (ja) rījṛbhivāhaḥ
savinayatāmarasāsanabhīmarasaprabhupāmararāṭkṛtadāsyaḥ
svavikalaśāradaśaśyanukāradaśātiviśāradakāntimadāsyaḥ

Utkalikā 1

kaluṣasamīhasasāhasacetaḥ
kalitodañcanakāñcanaretaḥ
suhutakarāsinijāsinikṛttaḥ
svahitaśironikaroditacittaḥ
smaraharadiṣṭasadiṣṭasatejaḥ
sphuramanujāśananāśanabījaḥ
sthiraraṇakauśalapeśalasāraḥ
sphuradaciraṁśukalaṁśukaśāraḥ

II

Verse 2

parṇāmbhaḥpavanāśino niyamanāt prāṇasya mukteḥ kṛte
kim gātrāṇi parikraśayya munayaḥ kliśnītha nityam vane
bhūyaḥ śuṣyadhanaiva ceddhṛtaphalam brūyāmupāyam
laghum
rāgādyāta harim sakṛnnamata bho raṅge bhujaṅgeśayam

Kalikā 2

api ca santataśātayatibṛndahṛtpadam
vipulasahyātmajāvīcitimyatpadam
śaśisarastīrasañcāravītaklamam
paśupatipraṇutabhūbhāgyabhūtakramam
jananutekṣvākuśaśvattapasyāphalam
tanunakhollikhitagodāstanaśrīphalam
sarasijāsanadevasatatasampūjitm
paramadīnānukampāniśabhrājitam

Utkalikā 2

varapūrvaśailakan-
darakāntirālakan-
dalajambhujātakan-

dhulavapraṇītaban-
dhurabhānupuñjasaṅ-
karaphullakañjisam-
śayakārivīkṣaṇam-
bhayadāritakṣaṇam

III

Verse 3

śrāmyasyārya kutaḥ kvada (kvavā) kimayase snātum
kaverātmajām
kāśyā mūḍha visṛjya viṣṇupadajām kim yāsi bhostatsamām
jānīṣe kimidam na vatsa vasatā tatsaikate raṅgiṇā
gaṅgādhikyamupārpya muktiranayasnātre sukham dāpyate

Kalikā 3

api ca (ā?) niśārkabimbāntare (a?) vāsena
vapuragryabhājitojjvalamamollāsena
ghanavikramatrayākrāntatrilokena
vanajotpalollāsavardhanālokena
daśamukhānujamodadāyiprasādena
daśadiśātaṭabhidudyajña (jyā?) praṇādena
bhūribhogābhogabhogīndratalpena
bhīrukākārtilopikṣamakalpena

Utkalikā 3

abhavadākīrtyena
sabharāptimartyena
kaitavasphūreṇa
ghātograkāreṇa
varipudānavasena
gurutamassarasena
bhāvavikhyātena
kovidajñātena

IV

Verse 4

daityāmartyasu (sa) martharakṣitadharādhārā yathā rāyati
prāñcannandakakhaṇḍitāmaravitānārāya nārāyaṇa
astu svasti karāladāvadahanāhorāya horāyata
sthemaśrīkucakumbhalabhyaśaśabhṛddhīraya dhirāya te

Kalikā 4

api ca kapicayeśanāśanāvitālinandanāya
sapadi vipaditābhayībhasattamāttavandanāya

dhāṭṛsoṭṛpadmasadmatābhiśobhinābhikāya
pūtabhūtarūpagopapuṅgavāṅganābhikāya
nāmadāmadopavepanākalokanāyakāya
bhūmijāmitākalokabhuktimuktidāyakāya
pādajodakacitaracitapāpatāpakartanāya
vedavādaśṛṅgaraṅgavihitamahitavartanāya

Utkalikā 4

vigrahāgrabhūsahāya
tāgrahograbalasahāya
gāḍhagūḍhabāṇakāya
rūḍhabāḍhadornikāya
lūnimānitattvarāya
tāniśānitāntarāya
yuddhabuddhakośalāya
buddiśuddhipeśalāya

V

Verse 5

khidyadhve manujāścirāt sutasuhṛddārādicorācite
kim duṣkarmadavoṣite bhavamahāraṇye kuraṅgā iva
neṣyante rajayatyarādiha yamavyādhopayātāñjasā
raṅgam gacchata nityamādhvamabhayam
vindadhvamatrācyutāt

Kalikā 5

api ca samīraṇapāraṇamuttamahāśayaneśayatāśritanidrāt
kapilaparāśaradāśarathījyamukhastutavistṛtasadguṇabhadrāt
kṣataghanaviśrutikaśrutihṛnmadhukaiṭabhakūṭabhavajjha-
ṣaveṣāt
satatadayārasapūrasamañjadasādamanodamasaṁbhṛtatoṣāt
vanaparidhāvakapāvakapānanivāritabhūritaravyadhaghoṣāt
ghanatarakāliyamauliyathāmadakartananartanakṛtajanapoṣāt
smaraśaralūnavadhūnavasaṁjvarasādhanamodanarāsavihārāt
darakaradānavasevavanānalatāhitabhūhitabhūryavatārāt

Utkalikā 5

bhuktabhavāśubhavāśubhadūrāt
muktagṛhāvanatāvanagārāt
phaladalasūnilatānilatoyāt
śilaparitāpasarūpasadāyāt
yogaviśodhitabodhitarābhāt
rāganikāmadayāmadalobhāt
svāntaniśāntanitāntanivāsāt
svāntaraśāntarasāntaraghāsāt

VI

Verse 6

stotū raṅgapure purāgha (parāga) paṭalīcorasya corasyati (taḥ)
sphāraśrīkarabhūṣaṇīkṛtavadhūsārasya sārasyataḥ
naṁnamye puruṣasya padyugamihānavyasya navyasya me
bhaktānām bhuvi janmasanmunimanobhāvyasya bhāvyasyataḥ

Kalikā 6

api ca sāripauravairiṇā (a) strī (i) dārabalayutasya
nipuṇadūritātmavairinityasūrikulavṛtasya
nāmajāpakādricāpanāyikāpanāyitasya
kāmatāpadūnagopakānyakāpacāyitasya
poṣavindavedabṛndapuṇyakandatāyitasya
ghoṣanandanīyanandagopanandanāyitasya
vardhitāravindakairavaprakāralocanasya
gardhadūrayogisārakarmabhārapācanasya

Utkalikā 6

sphītabāndhavāparasya
dhūtadāruṇārcitasya
śiṣṭakauravācirasya
kṛṣṭaśāṭikāśirasya
tārtatāṇḍavīparasya
dārtibhaṅgasātakasya
dānakṛddayākarasya
dānavakṣiyākarasya

Verse 7

viṣvagbhrāmyasi kim mudhā nanu manastūrṇam sadālarkavat
yāce tvām vihitāñjaliḥ kuru sakṛddīnasya me prārthitam
nūnam yena kṛtārthatā mama bhavennasyāttavāpi śrama-
stiṣṭha svāmini raṅgadhāmani pare puṁsi kṣaṇam niścalam

Kalikā 7

api ca ramāramaṇīramaṇīyabhujāntarakāntaraviprabharatne
prapadanatatparahṛtparamāsikapālanaśīlanavāniśayatne
kṛtajagadākramavikramaṇatrayakheditamoditabalidanujārau
kṣitidharadhāraṇakāraṇakūrmaviśeṣakaveṣakalādyaticārau
caturabalāhakavāhakamukhyadiśāpasamīpasadāhitadāsye
jitahitabhukkramavikramakuṅkumacitrakacitrakala (ā)
ḍhyadigāsye
pṛthukakaṇāśanadāśanadhūtābhīlakucelakulāgatadainye
prathitapavikramacakramaṇikṣatabāliśadūliśaṭhāmitasainye

Utkalikā 7

vitatabṛsīmaḍanemadamadhye
dhitamunisevanapāvanamadhye
kanakasaridrasavadrasapuline
tanavarugāyatanāyatamaline
taramaṇibhāsitabhāsitanāge
svaravitatāmalakoma[la]bhoge
śayatāstānavamānavapāpe
bhayakṛnmohadurīhadurāpe

VIII

Verse 8

kandarpāyutakalpabhavyasuguṇaikākalpasadhyaḥphalo-
dyatsaṅkalpanataughakalpavidhisūraṅgeśa raṅgeśaya
kālāśīviṣabhītametamiha mām gāḍhānukampālaya
śrīman pālaya nikṣipālayamayi snigdhān kaṭākṣān mayi

Kalikā 8

api cātyanapasārasāravātāhārahāradevodāradāravarṇitacarya
japatapassthiradhīradhīrāsāśananīranīrasadvijasāra-
sāratātyayasūrya
vinatapāṇḍurapatrapatravittapamitramitrasambhavavṛtra-
vṛtramukhyasudhā[ṁ]śa
vinutakīrtipavitravitrasattāpātrapātrayītanugotra-
gotracitraniveśa
nikṛtamatyatimānamānavārtinidānadānavendravitānatāna-
vāvahalīla
makararāḍapadānadānahīnadadīnadīnatārtyavasāna-
sānaghapradhaśīla
bahumaṇīparabhāgabhāganūnābhogabhogasaṅghaṭanāga-
nāgabaddhasvāpa
mahitasādhusamāgamāgatasphuṭarāgarāgamohaviyoga-
yogasugraharūpa

Utkalikā 8

tāratārakahīrahārahārapagāṅga
nāranāradasainduvāravāraṇasāṅga
rājarājahariddharājarājitagotra
rājarājasakhāccagojagojakalatra
sūtasūtabhidambujātajātanuyāna
jātijātisudhā[ṁ]śubhātibhātivimāna
nāsanāsamakīrtibhāsibhāsitaloka
vāsavāsahanendhanāsanāsaradhīka

Verse with all case-endings

raṅgeśo haratāmaghāni satatam raṅgeśamevāśraye
raṅgeśena hatārtirasmi kalaye raṅgeśayitre namaḥ
raṅgeśāt sukhamāpnuyām viracaye raṅgeśituḥ pūjanam
raṅgeśe mama bhaktirastu sudṛḍhā raṅgeśa pāhi svayam

Concluding verse

udāharaṇamarṇavo kṛtaparasya yasya śriyā-
mudāharaṇamātmanastamapi kaustubham kūkudaḥ
mudāharaṇamityado vyaracayāma saṅghāssatā-
mudāharaṇamādṛtās śruṇuta tasya raṅgeśituḥ

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BHOJA'S CITATION OF THE EXTRA VERSES OF THE LONGER VERSION OF THE ŚĀKUNTALA*

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We find in Kālidāsa's Śākuntala certain problems because of its wide study and popularity. The main problem relates to the varying recensions of the text, four of which have come down—the Bengali, Devanagari, Kashmiri and the Southern. All these have been published. Recently Mr. Ramanath Jha has edited a text of Abhijñānaśākuntalam[1] based on the manuscripts in Maithilī script with the commentaries of Śaṅkara and Narahari. In the Introduction, p. XV, the Editor calls it the Maithila recension of the play prevalent in Mithilā. Regarding this, Dr. V. Raghavan observes—"Such a fifth recension is not justified by facts. This text belongs to the Bengali-Kashmiri family, sometimes leaning towards the Bengali and sometimes to the Kashmiri".[2]

The fundamental difference in these recensions is the presence or the absence of some passages in the one or the other. We can, therefore, classify them as the longer and shorter recensions of the play. The Bengali and the Kashmiri go under the former and the Devanagari and the Southern under the latter.

Let us take the Bengali recension. Those who are in favour of this recension have tried to show the authenticity of some if not all the extra verses here on the basis of their quotations in works of Alaṅkāra, dramaturgy etc. We shall discuss here some of the verses which could be traced in such quotations. We shall confine ourselves in the present contribution to this Felicitation

* References to the verses are from Richard Pischel's edition of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, 2nd edition, Harvard Oriental Series 16, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1922.

1. Published by the Mithilā Institute, Durbhanga, 1957.

2. See Preface (p. iii) to the Abhijñānaśākuntala, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1965.

Volume to the citations in *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* the subject of one of the monumental works of our *guru*.

Lolām dṛṣṭim itastato vitanute(1) sabhrūlatā-vibhramam
ābhugnena(2) vivartitā(a) valimatā madhyena kamprastanī /
Hastāgram vidhunoti pallava-nibham (3)sītkarabhinnā(b) dharā
jāteyam (c)bhramarābhilaṅghanabhiyā vādyair(4) vinā
nartakī//

This verse gives a vivid description of Śakuntalā while she was being harassed by a bee. It occurs in Act I, after verse 23.[3] It has been quoted by two writers, one an anthologist and the other a great writer on alaṁkāra and dramaturgy. Jalhana in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*, p. 240, in the section called 'gathering of flowers', quotes this verse, actually attributing it to Kālidāsa. The other writer who cites the verse is Bhoja; to illustrate the idea of an aspect of love which is called by him 'Kautilyasaṁkṣepa' in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. IV, p. 813)[4] he quotes this verse, but without mentioning the name of Kālidāsa. We cannot say with certainty if Bhoja knew this verse as Kālidāsa's. It is however not always the case that in such works the author's name is added to the illustrative verse. But as noted above Jalhaṇa mentions Kālidāsa as its author. The verse as such is therefore older than Bhoja, the great critic. Variants offered by Jalhana are: (a) vivartate. (b) sītkāradhūtā, (c) bhramarāli. Variants in Bhoja are: (1) vibhujate (?), (2) viceṣṭate, (3) . Kiṁkāra (?), (4) vādyam.

2. Tvam dūramapi gacchantī hṛdayam na jahāsi me/
Dināvasānacchāyeva puro mūlam vanaspateḥ//

This is the 29th verse at the end of Act III and contributes to the elaboration of the Śṛṅgāric scene. When Śakuntalā says to Duṣyanta — "Anicchāpūrakaḥ api sambhāṣaṇamātrakena paricito' yam jano na vismartavyaḥ', the above cited verse is spoken by Duṣyanta. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. IV, p. 519) cites this verse to illustrate Upāya-prayoga, a dūtakarman. Here again, he

3. See among variants to Act I. 23/24, p. 159.
4. Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library.

does not mention the source as Kālidāsa. The antiquity and the vogue of the verse are however to be noted from this citation by Bhoja.

3. Anirdayopabhogyasya rūpasya mṛdunaḥ katham/
Kaṭhinam khalu te cetaḥ śirīṣasyeva bandhanam//

This is III. 30. We find this stanza quoted by Bhoja in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. IV, p. 812) while illustrating another idea relating to an aspect of love, as analysed by him under the head 'Pālanasamkṣepa', This also is quoted anonymously. Bhoja reads 'dāruṇam sakhi' in place of 'kaṭhinam khalu'.

4. Yadā śarīrasya śarīriṇaśca pṛthaktvam ekāntata eva bhāvi
Ahāryayogena viyujyamānaḥ[(a)] pareṇa ko nāma
bhaved viṣādī[(b)]

This is IV. 21/22. Śakuntalā has to leave for her husband's house and she is distressed to leave her father Kaṇva. He tries to console her and asks her not to mind the sorrow of separation.

Bhoja quotes this verse in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Vol. III, p. 333) to illustrate the quality of the type of hero called 'dhīra-praśānta'. Bhoja does not mention Kālidāsa's name, but he knew this verse which is found only in the longer version of the Śākuntala. The following readings in Bhoja may be noted: (a) vimucyamānaḥ and (b) saśokaḥ.

A consideration of the extra verses and their citations shows that they were all current upto the 17th century, the time of the last writer to quote any of the above verses. Coming to the chronological order of the authors who quote them, Bhoja quotes four verses in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (1030-50 A.D.), Vardhamāna one in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (1140 A.D.), Jalhaṇa two in his *Sūktimuktāvalī* (1258 A.D.), Śārṅgadhara one in his *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A.D.), Vallabhadeva one in his *Subhāṣitāvali* (15th Cent. A.D.) and lastly Durgādāsa one in his *Dhātudīpikā* (A.D. 1639). We can say that nine verses of the longer Bengali recension of the Śākuntala are quoted in seven works, one on alaṁkāra, two on grammar and four, anthologies. This shows that between 11th and 17th centuries A.D., the inflated text of the Śākuntala was known and had vogue among writers of different kinds of treatises.

Of nine verses which we have discussed,[5] five are quoted as Kālidāsa's. Of those quoted anonymously by Bhoja, one 'Lolām dṛṣṭim etc.' is quoted as Kālidāsa's by Jalhaṇa. Although we have not been able to authenticate more of these verses of the longer recension during the course of our extraction of Kālidāsa-citations we have found two citations at least which are of some value and which have not been pointed out by previous writers, namely Jalhaṇa quoting two of the verses as Kālidāsa's and Bhoja quoting four of them, although anonymously.

5. In our M.Litt. Thesis on Kālidāsa-citations, prepared under Dr. V. Raghavan's guidance.

THE ĀŚRAYA OF RASA — VEMABHŪPĀLA'S STAND

BY

M. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRY, M.A., M.LITT.

An important topic relating to Rasa on which Vemabhūpāla, in Chapter III of his *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*, a critical edition of which I am preparing under the guidance of my Professor, has a discussion and takes a specific stand, is the locus or *āśraya* of Rasa. The characters represented (*anukārya*) belong to the past and as such cannot be the *āśraya* of the Rasa related to an enactment today. Nor could the actor be considered the *āśraya* of Rasa as he is imitating all the time. He is entirely dependent upon the skill of acting in him and if the Rasa is already present in him there is no need for his skill and training. It does not also seem reasonable to hold the male and female actors to be the object mutually of each other's love. The only possible *āśraya* is the spectator but he also seems to be an impossible factor as an *āśraya* of Rasa. There is in fact no connection between him and the feelings presented.

"idānīm raso naṭādyāśraya iti keṣāñcit pakṣam nirākartumāha—

anukriyāparatvena na rasasyāśrayo naṭaḥ,
nānukāryo'pyatītatvāt na ca sabhyo'pyayogataḥ.

tatra tāvannāṭyaprayogakāle rasāśrayayogyā naṭānukāryasabhyāḥ traya eva yuktāḥ. nāstyeva caturthaḥ. teṣām krameṇāśrayatvam nirākaroti. śikṣābhyāsapāṭavavaśādanukaraṇaparatvena naṭo na rasasyāśrayaḥ. āśrayatve'pi śikṣābhyāsakaraṇavaiyarthyāt. kiñca naṭaratyādīnām mālatyāderaviṣayatvāt, naṭyādiṣu viiṣayāṇāmaprasaktatvācca. tathā hi nāṭyaprayogakāle mādhavādīnām mālatyādiṣu ratyādayaḥ pradarśyante, natu naṭasya rat(naṭ)yādiṣu. tasmānnaṭo na rasāśrayaḥ.

na cānukāryo rāmādiridānīmāsvādyamānasya rasasyāśrayo bhavitumarhati: cirātītatvāt. atītasya āśrayatvāyogāt.

nāpi sāmājikaḥ, ayogataḥ, asambandāht. anukāryasya anityasyālaukikasya sambandhānupapatteḥ."

If the spectators are to be the *āśraya*, who could be the object of their Rasa? Vema then considers the theory of 'sādhāraṇīkaraṇa' and strangely does not subscribe to this well-known and accepted theory which has been propounded as the sheet anchor of the Rasa-realisation.

"nanu mālatyādibhiḥ strīmātre, duśśāsanādibhiḥ śatrumātre, rāmādibhiḥ putramātre upalakṣite buddhyārūḍhāḥ svakāntāśatruputrādayo viṣayā bhavantīti cet na. anubhavavirodhāt, paścāt tathānanusandhānācca * * * mādhavasya mālatyāmanurāgātiśayamavagacchati. bhīmasya duśśāsane krodhātiśayam, daśarathasya rāme śokātiśayam ca, na punaḥ svakāntāyām svaśatrau svaputre vā ratikrodhaśokātiśayānanubhavanti."

Vema then refutes the theory of reflection or the 'pratiphalana' in the mirror-like heart of the spectator and dismisses this also as this would go against the theory of the 'pratīti' of Rasa.

"nanu sāmājikānāmudriktasattvatayā tathā nirmalatare manasi sphaṭikamaṇau japākusumarāgavat rase pratiphalite teṣām tadāśrayatvamiti cet, na. siddhasya tasyābhāvāt. atha matam naṭakalpitaiḥ vāgaṅgasattvābhinayaiḥ kaścid rasaḥ sarvathā pratīyata eva; anyathā pravṛttivaiyarthyam syāt. tadāśraya eva rasaḥ pratiphalatīti cet, na. rasasya pratītau satyām pratiphlanavaiyarthyāt."

Vema then proposes the theory of the 'pratīti' of Rasa to be quite satisfactory *as that does not require an āśraya.*

"nanu rasasyānāśritatve manaso bahirasvatantreṇa sambandhābhāvāt pratītireva nopapadyata iti cet, na. yathā śabdārthayoḥ sāmarthyāt vastvalaṅkārānekavyaṅgyapratītiḥ, yathā vākyasāmarthyāt vākyārthapratītiḥ, yathā vā liṅgasāmarthyāt liṅgipratītiḥ, tadvadatrāpi naṭakalpitavāgaṅgasattvābhinayasāmarthyādanāśritasyāpi rasasya pratītirupapadyata eva."

Vema goes further and says that it is on this theory of *anāśritatva* that the pleasurable nature of Vipralambha and Karuṇa could be explained. Any *āśraya* for Rasa would militate against separation, death, etc., being considered as enjoyable.

"kiñca kleśakāriṇām vipralambhakaruṇādīnām ānandakatvam *anāśrayatvapakṣa eva upapadyate.* sāśritatve priyaviraha-putramaraṇaśokādīnām dahanasparśavadatidussahatvāt na kaścidapi nāṭyasthāne'vatiṣṭhate."

A subtle point which Vema mentions here is that the presentation of Raudra produces in the Sāmājikas the Bhayānaka Rasa and the presentation of Vīra, Adbhuta on the one side and Karuṇa on the other. If the Sāmājika is *āśraya,* what is presented and what is realised should be the same. Vema has no difficulty in explaining the physical reactions of the spectators on witnessing the Rasa presented. He distinguishes Rasāsvāda which produces these physical reactions from Rasāśraya, the substratum of Rasa.

"yathā madhurāmlakaṭutiktapradhānānām śarkarātintriṇī-marīcisarṣapādiprāyāṇām padārthānāmanubhāve harṣamukha-kūṇanāśruromāñcādayo'nubhāvāḥ, tadvat rasānāmāsvāde te'nubhāvā upapadyante; na tu rasāśrayatve."

Finally he says that it is only love, anger, sorrow, etc. as part of worldly experience that necessitate the *āśrayatva* of somebody but not things which belong to the world of imaginative realisation (prātītika). It is in this sense that Rasa is *alaukika* and *alaukika* is certainly *anāśraya. Thus Rasas have no āśrayas.*

"nanu ratikrodhaśokādīnām prāṇidharmāṇāmanāśritatvam kathamupapadyata iti ceducyate—prāmāṇikānāmeva prāṇi-dharmāṇāmāśritatvamavaśyam kalpanīyam, na tu prātīti-kānām. kāvye nāṭye ca ratyādayaḥ pratīyante, na tu pramī-yante, pratyakṣādyagocaratvāt. ata evālaukiko rasa iti sarva-iraṅgīkṛtam alaukikasyāśritatvam viruddham. anāśritatvam tu bhūṣaṇameva. * * * evamuktamartham ślokena samgṛhṇāti.

rāmāderhṛdi kāraṇopajanitaḥ kāryaiḥ pratītim gataḥ
sampuṣṭassahakāribhirjanayati sthāyī sukham vā'sukham.
bhāvānāmatha varṇanānukaraṇaiḥ kāvye'pi nāṭye'pi ca
vyakto'yam tu *nirāśrayas*sukhakaraḥ sabhyai
rasaścarvyate."

The above would show the bold stand that Vema takes on this complicated question. But he is not alone in this. He has probably followed in this one Narahari Mahopādhyāya, whom Kumārasvāmin quotes in his commentary on the Pratāparudrīya,

Rasa-prakaraṇa.[1] As it is clear from another context,[2] Kumārasvāmin knows the Sāhityacintāmaṇi and Kumārasvāmin's view here of Rasa being *anāśraya* is in all likelihood influenced by Vema. As Kumārasvāmin has pointed out here, Śāradātanaya has already shown in his *Bhāvaprakāśa*, the arguments for criticising the *āśraya* of Rasa being either the *anukārya* (Rāma) or the *naṭa*.

"rasasya vartamānatvānnānukāryasya sambhavaḥ
anukāryasya rāmādeḥ kālātikramadarśanāt."[3]

But Śāradātanaya considered on these scores the Sāmājika to be the *āśraya* of Rasa.

"tasmādrasaḥ sāmājikāśrayaḥ."[4]

But Narahari, Vemabhūpāla and Kumārasvāmin depart at this point.

1. See Kumārasvāmin's C. on Pratāparudrīya, p. 211 (Madras edn.): "kecidetat sāmājikāśrayatvamāropitam na tu mukhyamityāhuḥ. taduktam mahopādhyāya-Naraharisūriṇā. 'evam sāmājikasamavetatām rasasyāṅgīkṛtyālaukikatā varṇitā. paramārthataḥ punaḥ paripūrṇākhaṇḍaikarasānandarūpaparameśvaraparyāyasyāsya rasasya adhikaraṇacintā kuto vā. na satyānantānandātmake brahmaṇyapi padamāsādayediti vicāracaturairanādikavibhirānādhāro rasaḥ sāmājikaiḥ param carvyate, vibhāvādibhiḥ param vyajyate. yogigamyatvamātreṇeśvarasya yogimanonivāsasamvādavat sāmājikādhikaraṇatvāropo'pi sahyate!' ityādibhiḥ yuktibhiḥ pratipāditam. *anadhikaraṇatvameva siddhāntaḥ*.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
3. See Śāradātanaya's Bhāvaprakāśa, VI, p. 153 (GOS edn.).
4. *Ibid.*

THE GĪTĀ AND THE GARUḌAPURĀṆA[1]

BY

N. GANGADHARAN, M.A., M.LITT.,

In one of his papers entitled the Greater Gītā (*JOR.* Madras, Vol. XII, pp. 86-122) Dr. Raghavan made a comprehensive survey and bibliography of the Gītā thought and expression as found in the other parts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa* and the *Upapurāṇa* literature. In this, a short note, I shall draw attention to the ideas and expressions of the *Gītā* as they are found in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* noted by me in the course of my work on my M.Litt. Thesis on that *Purāṇa* done under the guidance of my Professor.

The *Garuḍapurāṇa* (GP) is classified among the *Vaiṣṇava purāṇas.* But as I have shown in my Thesis it abounds in material pertaining to other deities also. However, the accent is on the supremacy of *Viṣṇu* and devotion to Him is described in more than one place. There are several contexts in which this *Purāṇa* embodies passages from *Bhagavadgītā,* adapting them suitably to the context.

In ch. 219 of the Purāṇa we read,

> Api cet sudurācāro bhajate mām ananyabhāk /
> Sādhureva sa mantavyaḥ samyag vyavasito hi saḥ //
> Kṣipram bhavati dharmātmā śaśvacchāntim sa gacchati /
> Viprendra pratijānīhi viṣṇubhakto na naśyati //
>
> vv. 27-28

These are almost the same as *Gītā* 9.30 and 31 with the few changes: 'viprendra' for 'Kaunteya' and 'viṣṇubhakto na naśyati' for 'na me bhaktaḥ praṇaśyati'.

1. Edn. Kashi Sanskrit Series 165, Chowkhamba, Banares, 1964 following Jivananda Vidyasagara's edn. Calcutta, 1891.

In the same ch. of the Purāṇa,

Daivī hyeṣā guṇamayī harermāyā duratyayā /
Tāmeva ye prapadyante māyāmetām taranti te //

is *Gītā* 7.14 on how to extricate oneself from the delusions caused by the three guṇas *Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas.*

Then in ch. 221 which is also on devotion to *Viṣṇu,* the first half of the third verse reads 'yataḥ pravṛttirbhūtānām yena sarvamidam tatam'. This is *Gītā* 18.46[a]. The *Gītā* emphasises here the worship of the one who is the cause of evolution and by whom all things are pervaded. The *GP.* adds as the 2nd half of the verse the statement that one who does not worship such a person (God) shall be born as a worm.

Then in ch. 227 we have,

Ātmānamātmanā kecit paśyanti dhyānacakṣuṣā /
Sāṅkhyabuddhyā tathaivānye yogenānena yoginaḥ//
v. 41

which may be compared with *Gītā* 13.24; the *GP* makes a few changes.

Not only in the *pūrvakhaṇḍa,* but also in the *uttarakhaṇḍa* dealing with one's after life, the *GP.* has a few verses from the *Gītā.* Verse 14 in the opening chapter here,

Nainam cchindanti śastrāṇi nainam dahati pāvakaḥ /
Na cainam kledayantyāpo na śoṣayati mārutaḥ //

is *Gītā* 2.23. The Purāṇa uses it in the context of describing the nature of the body and the soul of a being.

The following in the 2nd ch. here:

Aśraddhayā hutam dattam tapastaptam kṛtam ca yat /
Asadityucyate Pakṣin pretya neha na tatphalam //
v. 32 b

is almost same as *Gītā* 17.28. except that

'Pārtha na ca tatpretya no iha' of the Gītā is read as
'paksiṇ pretya neha na tatphalam' in the Purāṇa.

In ch. 8 here we read :

Vāsāmsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti naro'parāṇi /
Tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇānyanyāni gṛhṇāti navāni dehī //
v. 42.

This is *Gītā* 2. 22 except that the *GP.* has 'gṛhṇāti' here in place of 'samyāti' in the *Gītā*.

In Ch. 14 we read :

'Jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyur dhruvam janma mṛtasya ca' 14a,
which is *Gītā* 2.27a.

We may now note some ideas and expressions from *Gītā* in the *GP.* Ch. 227, v. 4.

Ārurukṣumatīnām tu karmajñānamudāhṛtam /
Ārudyayogavṛkṣāṇām jñanam tyāgam param matam //
This is an echo

of *Gītā*, VI. 3:

Ārurukṣormuneryogam karma kāraṇamucyate /
yogārūḍhasya tasyaiva śamaḥ kāraṇamucyate //

In the same ch. the expression 'Omkāram paramam brahma' in verse 35 is 'Omityekākṣaram brahma' in *Gītā* 8.13.

The expression 'kṣetra-kṣetrajña' occurs in *GP.* in different contexts. While the *GP.* describes Brahman as beyond either, the *Gītā* describes the lord as 'ksetrajña'. (Cf. *GP.* I. 227.35 and *Gītā* 13.2).

In addition to the passages pointed out above the *GP.* devotes one whole chapter (29th), — a short one —, to a summary of the teachings of the *Gītā* entitled *Gītāsāra.* The point to be noted here is that it is not just a selection of few verses from the *Bhagavadgītā*, but a succinct statement of the philosophy of the *Gītā* in 29 verses oriented to *advaita* and devotion to the Saguṇa-form of Viṣṇu. The last two verses here run as follows:

Aham brahmetyavasthānam samādhirabhidhīyate /
Aham brahmāsmi vākyācca jñānān mokṣo bhavennṛṇām//
Śraddhayānandacaitanyam lakṣayitvā sthitasya ca//
Brahmāhamasmyaham brahma aham-brahmapadārthayoḥ //
vv. 28-29.

TATSAMAS IN KANNADA

BY

M. M. BHAT

Dr. H. Gundert in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (23rd Vol. 1869) was perhaps the first lexicographer to show that to some extent Sanskrit Dictionaries contain a number of Dravida words. Later on, Dr. Caldwell in his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages (1875) and Dr. S. Kittel in the August No. of 1872 Indian Antiquary and Section VI of the Introduction to his monumental Kannada-English Dictionary further substantiated the statement of Dr. Gundert.

Prof. T. Burrow in his History of Sanskrit Language has listed a number of Dravidian loans in Sanskrit.

The word *tatsama*, a word of Grammatical terminology, used by our grammarians is rather ticklish. The celebrated Kannada grammarian Keśirāja (1260 A.D.) in his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa under sutras 301 and 302 gives a list of 21 words as *tatsamas* which he defines as words "equal to Samskrita and Kannada"—(*Samskritakkam Kannadakkam sari*). The words listed by him are:—maṇi, mañca, paṭṭa, tōraṇa, aṭṭa, gōṇi, sabaḷa, aṅka, aṅgaṇa, late, kaṅkaṇa, kōṭe, bala, bila, bandi, māle, gāḷa gaṇḍa, galla, malla, kala. These can be compounded without any grammatical impropriety with Sanskrit words or Kannada Dēśya words.

Kittel has pointed out in his Preface to the Dictionary, that these are words which have been introduced into Sanskrit from Dravida without undergoing any alteration (p. XXIX). These words had gone into the Sanskrit language in the hoary past and got naturalised in it.

Dr. Caldwell in his Comparative Grammar (p. 453) makes the following appropriate remarks: "The ground or conditions on which I think any word contained in Sanskrit lexicons may be concluded to be of Dravidian origin are as follows: (1) when the word is an isolated one in Sanskrit, without a root and without

derivatives, but is surrounded in the Dravidian Language with collateral, related or derivative words; (2) when Sanskrit possesses other words expressing the same idea whilst the Dravidian tongues have the one in question alone; (3) when the word is not found in any of the Indo-European tongues allied to Sanskrit but is found in every Dravidian dialect, however, rude; (4) when the derivation which the Sanskrit lexicographers have attributed to the word is evidently a fanciful one, whilst Dravidian lexicographers deduce it from some native Dravidian verbal theme of the same or similar signification, from which a variety of words are found to be derived; (5) when the signification of the word in the Dravidian languages is evidently radical and physiological, whilst the Sanskrit signification is metaphorical, or only collateral; (6) when native Dravidian scholars, notwithstanding their high estimation of Sanskrit as the language of the gods and the mother of all literature, classify the word in question as a purely Dravidian one — when any of these reasons is found to exist, and more especially when several or all of them coincide, I conceive we may safely conclude the word in question to be Dravidian, not a Sanskrit derivative".

If the above tests are applied to these twenty-one words, by one or more of them, the Dravidian nativity of the words could be provided. Hence the Kannada grammarians employed the term *tatsama* to indicate native words which had gone into Sanskrit. A pure Sanskrit word cannot be compounded with a Kannada Dēśya word, lest there should be the ari—samāsa-dōṣa (enemy compound).

The problem of Dravidian loans in Sanskrit was known to them. They were unable to assert their Dravidian origin and Sanskrit lexicographers were at a loss to suggest etymology for them. Hence the Grammarians well-versed in both the languages dubbed them as *tatsama* (equal to both), in an equivocal manner.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WEST TO THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF MALAYALAM

BY

DR. K. M. GEORGE

As a literary language Malayalam has a history of over eight centuries, and as a spoken tongue it must have been in existence for several centuries more. However, till about the eighteenth century, it had practically no basic instruments which would allow a systematic study, such as grammatical works and dictionaries. Even in the eighteenth century the efforts were meagre and we have to come to the mid-nineteenth century for something substantial in these fields. This is without prejudice to *Līlātilaka*, the fourteenth century treatise on *Maṇipravāla*[1] written in Sanskrit, where there are very valuable references and indications about Malayalam rhetoric and grammar. However useful and important *Līlātilaka* may be for the study of early Malayalam from the linguistic point of view, it cannot be regarded as a grammar proper of the language.

Thus lexicography and grammatical works in Malayalam have a history of less than 250 years' duration, which began only when foreigners came to grips with it. That a language as developed and cultivated as Malayalam should remain without these basic instruments till the Europeans came to study it may surprise many. But when one comes to think of it, there is really nothing so surprising about it. A language is best learnt when it is not deliberately learnt or formally taught. That is what happens to every child. Before a child goes to any school, he is capable of handling one language, his mother tongue. He is not conscious of the grammatical rules and lexical restrictions of that language, but the fundamentals are ingrained in him before a conscious

1. *Maṇipravāla* is a special literary dialect blending the vocabulary and grammatical features of Malayalam and Sanskrit.

study starts with the aid of a teacher. For ordinary purposes he does not need a written grammar or dictionary. But when he wants to use a second language, he faces it as an adult and there he cannot proceed far without a grammar and a dictionary. The second language learnt by people of Kerala before English education became popular was, by and large, Sanskrit. A number of people also learnt Tamil. So the sophisticated Malayalee needed grammars and dictionaries only for Sanskrit and Tamil. Malayalam was considered his own ancestral property, and no special effort was required of him to become skilful in its use. Until about the sixteenth century, English was held in similar regard by Englishmen, who considered Latin the language to be really studied.

But when the Europeans came to Kerala, either for trade or for missionary work, they were faced with the problem of communication, which meant learning a new language. The pioneers who managed to get a working knowledge of Malayalam had a very difficult time indeed, as there was no suitable grammar or dictionary. Therefore it was quite natural for them to compile lists of basic Malayalam words (with equivalents in Latin, Portuguese, or English) and to record essential points of Malayalam grammar for their own use and that of their successors. These first efforts were in due course improved upon by later students, some of whom had a flair for learning new languages as well as for figuring out their grammatical structure. While giving due credit to the magnificent efforts of European scholars, particularly the missionaries, in this pioneering work of compiling dictionaries and grammars for the language, it may be pointed out that it was indispensable for the cross-cultural communication in which they, the Westerners, took the initiative. We should certainly be thankful to them for taking the lead in this work for which they had a better background than the Malayalee, by virtue of similar work in their own languages.

Let us now assess the European contribution in these two fields separately.

Dictionaries

The compilation of lexical materials in Malayalam falls into three stages, and at each stage the influence of the West is clearly

seen. In the first two stages it is direct, whereas in the third it is indirect.

Early efforts

In the first stage, we notice the efforts of the Catholic missionaries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They hailed from Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Austria. As far as we know, the materials they collected were not put to public use but were used by foreign students in the catholic seminaries at Ampazhakkad and Varapuzha in Kerala. According to Dr. P. J. Thomas, who has carried out extensive research on the subject, the earliest dictionaries were written in Portuguese and Latin. Dr. Gundert, the compiler of a well-known Malayalam-English Dictionary (1872), acknowledges his indebtedness to the materials collected by these missionaries. He does not give their names, but Dr. Thomas has given us the names of a few missionaries who have worked on this project: John Baptista, Father Clement, Father Fares, and Father Stephen.[2] The name of Father Ernestus (or as he is called in Malayalam, Arnos Padiri) can also be included in this list. Unfortunately no work of these pioneers is available now.

We now come to the second stage where full evidence of work done is available. These dictionaries are by the Protestant missionaries. Rev. Benjamin Bailey, who took over as principal of the Church Missionary Society's seminary at Kottayam in 1816, was an ardent student of Sanskrit and Malayalam. He was keen on translating the Bible into Malayalam and also on compiling a dictionary of the language; and it was not long before he launched both projects. The dictionary was printed by the C.M.S. Press, Kottayam, and was published in 1846. As far as we know, this is the first Malayalam dictionary to be printed. It is, in effect, a bilingual dictionary as the meanings are given in English also. Critics can say that in this work Sanskrit words are given more importance while indigenous Malayalam words have only a secondary place and that there is no attempt at etymological observations. But, after all, Bailey's was the first major attempt

2. P. J. Thomas, *Malayala Sahityavum Christianikalum*, pp. 92-123.

at lexicography and as such his contribution should be gratefully remembered.

After about two decades, another dictionary was published, again from the same source, thanks to another Protestant missionary, Richard Collins. He was the principal of the C.M.S. Seminary from 1855 to 1867. This was a simple Malayalam dictionary. Collins was greatly helped by two native scholars in this compilation published in 1865. That two more editions were to follow (the latest being a revised edition brought out in 1918) shows the popularity of this work.

Gundert's dictionary

Now we come to a great landmark in the field of lexicography; the Malayalam-English dictionary compiled by Dr. H. Gundert (1814-93), a missionary attached to the Basel Mission who came to India in 1838. An erudite scholar in several European languages, Dr. Gundert was German by birth. Within a few years of his coming to India, he attained a working knowledge of a number of Indian languages and mastered Malayalam. His familiarity with the science of language and his amazing genius for studying new languages, together with his steadfastness and zeal, made him an ideal person to compile a good dictionary. He laboured for twenty-five years and the result is the *magnum opus* that was published by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, in 1872. Gundert not only studied the important literary works and other records in Malayalam; he also collected words and idioms by patiently listening to people in all walks of life. He also took pains to compare cognate forms of words and to give etymological indications wherever possible. Caldwell in the preface to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pays a special compliment to Dr. Gundert, "whose truly scientific 'Dictionary of Malayalam' has given a fresh stimulus to Dravidian philology." Gundert's dictionary remained unsurpassed in its scientific approach for many decades. Ninety years after its first publication, i.e., in 1962, a second edition of this dictionary was brought out by the Writers' Cooperative Society in Kerala, and within the short period of a few months all copies were sold out. This shows the esteem in which the work is held even though other dictionaries in Malayalam have appeared since it was published.

A European design is seen in the dictionaries published in the various Indian languages during the nineteenth century. Taking the South Indian languages alone into consideration, we may refer to C. P. Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* (1852), Winslow's *Tamil–English Dictionary* (1842) and Kittel's *Kannada–English Dictionary* (1894). All these are substantial contributions made by European savants to the scientific study of South Indian languages.

After the publication of Gundert's dictionary there was a long lull in the field of lexicography in Malayalam. The language was growing continuously and there was need to have a more modern dictionary, but none dared to follow Gundert for quite some time. We now pass on to the third stage, where native scholars come into the picture.

Dictionaries by Native Scholars

Śabdatārāvali: Thus we come to another personality comparable to Gundert or Samuel Johnson, namely Srikantheesvaram G. Padmanabha Pillai. Single-handed he toiled for twenty years and completed his *Śabdatārāvali* in 1917. He started publishing it in instalments which were completed in 1923. The work earned high praise as a very useful practical dictionary and the first comprehensive Malayalam–Malayalam dictionary. Several editions have since been brought out.

Navayugabhāṣā nighaṇṭu: Another dictionary, which can be ranked next to *Śabdatārāvali*, is *Navayugabhāṣā nighaṇṭu* (2 volumes, 1943) by R. Narayana Panikkar. Panikkar has drawn largely from Gundert and Srikanthesvaram, but his arrangement is more scientific and his approach more modern. Still, many people prefer *Śabdatārāvali* to his work even today.

Bilingual dictionaries: Scores of small Malayalam dictionaries have been published in the last fifty years and it is not necessary to catalogue them here. However, mention has to be made of certain laudable efforts in compiling bilingual dictionaries connecting Malayalam and English. As early as 1849 Bailey published the first English-Malayalam dictionary. A few decades later, Tobias Zacharias compiled a more comprehensive English-Malayalam dictionary which held the field for a long time. Since then, several such dictionaries have been published by various agencies. Most

of these have had a good sale for there was a great need for these, as translation activity increased. Recently two bilingual dictionaries deserving of mention have been published:

(1) *English-English-Malayalam Dictionary* (2 volumes) by T. Ramalingam Pillai and (2) *English-Malayalam Dictionary* by C. Madhavan Pillai. Both are significant contributions and very valuable for translators from English to Malayalam.

A few bilingual dictionaries connecting Malayalam with Hindi or Sanskrit have been published during the last quarter of a century. All of them are useful to students of language and literature.

Whether bilingual or monolingual, the dictionaries compiled by native scholars have been considerably influenced by Western techniques of lexicography, such as alphabetical arrangement and citing of sources. The alphabetical order of arranging words is Western in concept. We were familiar with the *Amarakośa* type of Sanskrit dictionary, where synonyms are grouped under a subject-wise arrangement. In some cases the dictionary is composed in verse. This was all right at a time when learning was memory-oriented. A person who had committed to memory the synonyms of all important concepts and terms could easily decipher and locate terms with a little effort. But when one has to deal with several thousands of words and one is eager to ascertain the precise meaning of an unfamiliar word, memory will not be dependable. The alphabetic arrangement is then most handy. Like the rhyming dictionary in English (by Levins, 1570) in which words are arranged according to the final syllables, the synonym type of dictionary is useful for composer and poets. But they are only a handful. The great bulk of people who need a dictionary are more interested in the precise meanings of words, usage of phrases and idioms, and in some cases the derivation of words and other cultural indications. They would certainly prefer the system of presentation tried and developed by Western experts. Here Malayalam, as well as other Indian languages, has considerably benefitted from Western models. The twenty-volume Oxford Dictionary was approved as the model to be used in compiling a comprehensive Malayalam lexicon in a project initiated by the University of Kerala, on which a team of scholars has been working for about fifteen years now. The first volume was published in 1967, and the series is likely to be completed in a few years.

GRAMMARS

Early efforts

The story of developing grammatical materials of Malayalam is not very different from that of compiling dictionaries. Here again the results of pioneering efforts have passed into oblivion. We know of a few such efforts from the acknowledgements of successive workers in the field. According to available information, the first dissertation on Malayalam grammar was written in Latin by Angelos Francis, who was Bishop at Varapuzha (Verapoly) during 1700-1712.[3] His grammar took into consideration the spoken tongue, whereas the grammar compiled by Father Ernestus (Arnos Padiri) dealt with high Malayalam in the Sanskrit model. High Malayalam (Ucca Malayalam) is the Sanskritised *granthic* language, Ernestus came to Kerala in 1699 and mastered Malayalam to such an extent that he was able to write books in prose and compose poetry of a high order. He hailed from Germany. Very little is known about the efforts of other eighteenth-century scholars who tried their hands at describing the structure of Malayalam. However, it is reported that Poulinus, Faures Mooppan, and Bishop Ildephons did some work on Malayalam grammar.[4]

The first Englishman to compile a grammar of Malayalam was Robert Drummond. His grammar of the Malayalam language, printed at the Courier Press in Bombay, was published in 1799. That he based his work on the materials compiled by the Catholic missionaries would be quite evident from the pages of the work, even without the open acknowledgement of indebtedness in the Introduction wherein he says:

> Having by surmounting these difficulties acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to excite a desire of improvement, I was happy in the opportunity of paying a visit to the Rt. Rev. Louis, the titular Bishop of Usula, presiding over the Carmelite Mission of Verapoly in the vicinity of Cochin in the month of August 1799, with whom I resided during the whole of the monsoon .... The worthy prelate ....

3. A copy of this is available in the Vatican Library.
4. Dr. P. J. Thomas, *Malayala Sahityavum Christianikalum*, pp. 92-96.

being bigotry or prejudice of any kind be (*sic*), with a generosity equal to his hospitality submitted to me all his store of manuscripts with an injunction to render them as subservient as possible to the end of diffusing knowledge of Malabar tongue among the Honorable Company's representatives.[5]

He gave examples in Malayalam characters.

At least three more grammars were written by Westerners during this period: *Outlines of Grammar of Malayalam Language*, by F. Spring (1839); *Grammar of Malayalam Language*, by Joseph Peet (1841); and *A Short Grammar and Analysis of Malayalam Language*, by R. Collins (1864).

Gundert's Malayalam grammar:

All the aforementioned grammars were meant for Westerners; most of the missionaries and some of the administrators learnt Malayalam with their help. But the first grammar which attracted both native and Western scholar who appreciated the genius of the language was from the pen of the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert, to whose dictionary we have already referred. His *Malayāla Bhāṣā Vyākaraṇam* is a scholarly work written in Malayalam. The first portion consisting of 545 articles was published in 1851. The complete version came out only in 1868. In this magnificent effort, Gundert was assisted by E. Diez, who edited the work while the author was away in Germany. Gundert's successor in office, the Rev. L. Garthwaite, also gave his assistance in finalizing this edition.

When Gundert's grammar was published, all previous works on the subject paled into insignificance. Even the works by native scholars which were published soon after, though good in their own way, could not compete with it, for Gundert's work was more scientific and more comprehensive than theirs.

Gundert's grammar is set forth in three parts: Orthography; Etymology; and Syntax. Each part has several sections. Though the grammar is written in Malayalam, all important terms are given both in Malayalam and in English. On a close analysis of the

5. Quotation reproduced from Thomas, *ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

terms used, it is clear that the approach to the question has been Western, but the terms adopted in Malayalam are in a large measure taken from Sanskrit and to lesser extent copied from Tamil or coined newly.

Here is an instance of the Western mould influencing the mind of Gundert: he uses the term *valavibhaktikal* to denote oblique cases. This is an awkward combination of a Malayalam term, *vala* and a Sanskrit term, *vibhakti*. *Vala* means a bangle or a beam. Evidently Gundert had in his mind the term *valanna* which means bent or oblique. The term *oblique* itself is not necessary in the discussion of the topic. On a close examination of the topic one finds that he is struggling hard to compromise between the traditional Sanskrit approach (*dvitīya, tṛtīya,* etc.,) and the well-known English forms (accusative, instrumental, etc.). Similar is his use of the term *maravineyaceam* to denote the negative participle.

Subheadings like the following, which are numerous, show that the thinking has been on the lines of English grammar.

1. Roots of cardinals
2. Copulative links proceeding terminations in
3. Divisions of verb—strong and weak
4. Auxiliary verbs affixed to past participles
5. It is only by a sort of ellipsis, etc.

The second part, entitled "Etymology," comprises something more than that. From the English subtitles, some of which are reproduced below, we know that the field of morphology is covered therein.

The three genders	Adverbial participles
The plural number	Adjective participles
The cases	Imperative, infinitive, optative
Declensions	Conditional, concessive, etc.,
The inflections of verbs	Negative verbs, Verbal nouns
Roots of verbs	Formation of verbs
The three tenses	Defective verbs, etc.

It is quite understandable that Gundert looked at the structure of Malayalam with European eyes. Grammatical tools were

quite developed in the West,[6] and he was quite familiar with them. However, he was also conscious that he was dealing with a language which was considerably different in structure. He, therefore, made good use of the tools available in India, particularly those from Sanskrit and Tamil.

Gundert's successor at the Basel Mission was L. Garthwaite. He published *A Catechism of Malayalam Grammar* with an English translation which was basically Gundert's work, but in a shortened form more useful to the average missionary who did not want to bother about the intricacies of the language.

After Garthwaite's *Catechism* appeared, another European, L. J. Frohnmeyer, compiled *A Progressive Grammar of the Malayalam Language for Europeans* (1889).[7] This was also published by the Basel Mission Press in Mangalore. The title itself explains the scope of the work which is elementary in character. The language is English, but the examples and many exercises are given in Malayalam characters.

Caldwell's Comparative Grammar

The Mid-nineteenth century is a significant period for the whole of India as regards comparative grammatical studies. In South India, Bishop Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, published in 1856, was hailed as a beacon light. It was Caldwell who proved beyond controversy that the languages of the South—viz., Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam—belong to a separate family, having no genealogical connection with Sanskrit or any member of the Indo-Aryan family. At the same time, it should be remembered that F. W. Ellis (1780-1819) came to the same conclusion as early as 1816, though his dissertation was not known to the world of scholars till it was published in the *Indian Antiquary* of November 1789. Bishop Caldwell's monumental *Comparative Grammar* has influenced all contemporary and later grammarians of the Dravidian languages. In his analysis and comparison of the various phonological and morphological features of the cognate languages,

6. Most of the English grammatical terms are borrowed from Latin, the mother of all European grammars.

7. Revised second edition, 1913.

he employed the technique developed in the Western countries. The idea of a comparative grammar was unknown to Indians till Western scholars demonstrated the significance of such studies. It is true that the talents of many native scholars were pressed into service in such comparative studies, but the long-range vision, coordinating brain, and superior organizing ability are the contributions of Western savants.

Grammars by native scholars

There are quite a few worthwhile grammars of Malayalam written by native scholars. Three of these are: *Malayazhmayude Vyākaraṇam*, by George Mathan (completed before 1851, but published in 1863); *Kerala Kaumudī*, by Kovunni Nedungadi (completed in 1875, but published in 1878); and *Keralabhāṣā Vyākaraṇam*, by Pachu Moothathu (1876).

The Rev. George Mathan could not have seen Gundert's grammar as his work was completed before 1851. However, he was quite familiar with both Western and Indian approaches to the subject. Nedungadi was familiar with Sanskrit and Tamil, while Moothathu was too much influenced by the Sanskrit method.

Kerala Pāṇinīyam: Now we come to an epoch-making event in the history of grammatical literature in Malayalam, the publication of *Kerala Pāṇinīyam* by A. R. Rajaraja Varma. This work has been considered as an authority for the last fifty years, i.e., ever since it appeared in 1917 in the form available to us today. It should be said that this is the second edition of a smaller work which was published as early as 1896, the earlier edition was written in the *Sūtra-vṛtti* style of Paṇinian tradition. The revised edition is considerably different, not only in technique and presentation but even in the basic concepts. Indeed, the old work underwent such a metamorphosis that it would be more proper to say that it had a rebirth. To lapse into metaphorical expression, one could say that if an Āyurvedic physician was responsible for the earlier birth, an English doctor had come to the aid of the second birth. The author himself admits that what remains of the old is the title *Kerala Pāṇinīyam* and something of the subject matter, so little that he was not happy about retaining the title. It would perhaps have been more proper to call the present work *Kerala-Caldwelliyam*. However, this may be equally unsuitable, for

although it is true that the revised edition was considerably influenced by Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, it is not an imitation or carbon copy of portions of Caldwell.

Rajaraja Varma was a profound scholar of Sanskrit who had a good knowledge of Tamil and a fair working knowledge of Kannada and Telugu. He consulted authoritative grammars in these languages, not to speak of the works of Caldwell and Gundert to which he frequently referred. Among all the scholars, Rajaraja Varma had the greatest respect for Caldwell. In fact, he felt uneasy about differing from Caldwell. This is quite clear from several portions of the work, though he invariably tries to take an independent view of problems. It is difficult to explain in a few words how the author accomplished this difficult task. He is indebted to many languages and many authors, but he has not mortgaged his judgment to any one language, be it Sanskrit or English, or to any one author, be it Pāṇini or Caldwell. He rejected *in toto* the *Sūtras* of the earlier edition and replaced them with convenient verses that do not require long interpretations; whenever an explanation is necessary he himself has given it. He has employed a large number of Sanskrit terms which have been found suitable, but he has imported only Sanskrit terms and not Sanskrit grammar as Nedungadi did. He has taken a few terms from Tamil also on considerations of merit. However, the overall approach and the manner in which the native tools are handled appear to be appreciably Western, which is not to say that he has given a "Western tinge" to the grammar of Malayalam as Gundert and George Mathan did to a noticeable extent. From a mere logical and descriptive approach in the earlier version, he switched over to a historical and comparative approach, taking care not to sacrifice logic or descriptive analysis.

In the long introduction to the grammar proper, he discusses the evolution of Malayalam and its relationship to other members of the family. Here he has, by and large, followed in the footsteps of Caldwell, though he has many points of his own to contribute to the discussion. To quote P. K. Narayana Pillai, who contributed a valuable foreword to the grammar, "From the very alphabet to derivation, there is not a single phase of grammar on which his extraordinary powers of generalization and keen

observation have not been brought to bear. He has said many new things and said many other things in a new way .... The division of the parts of speech into five is again an original idea, departing from the threefold classification of the preceding grammarians who simply followed the Sanskrit lead." There have been criticisms about certain portions of *Kerala Pāṇinīyam*, particularly voiced by M. Seshagiri Prabhu in his *Vyākaraṇa Mitram* (1919, 3rd ed.). But they are either of a minor nature or disputable. In any case, Rajaraja Varma's work has not been displaced in the last fifty years, though normally in a growing language this should have happened.

THE SANDESA KAVYAS OF THE SINHALESE AND THE SACRED DANCE

BY

M. D. RAGHAVAN

The Fine Arts of Dance and Music of Sinhalese of the Middle Ages of Ceylon, bear a close correspondence to the arts of South India particularly of the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Desa. Politically this was an era in the history of Ceylon, when South Indian influences were dominant in the counsels of the Court and in the personal life of the kings of Ceylon.

The Silappadikaram and the Dance

Cultural relations between India and Ceylon go back to the far off days, to the days of the *Silappadikaram* of probably the second century A.D. A source book of value to the study of the Dance, the two main categories recognised in the *Silappadikaram* are the *Santi* and the *Vinoda koothus*. *Santi* answers to a two-fold division, the *Chokkam* and the *Mei*. *Chokkam*, literally the pure, is analysed into 108 *Karanas*, a number which agrees with the analysis presented in the Bharata Natya Sastra. *Mei* is a group of three constituents, *Desi*, *Vadugu* and *Singala*, all three names being regional.

Speaking of the dance of Madhavi, the talented courtesan, the poet remarks, "She also danced the *Vadugu* Dance: then it appeared as though the five-beat mode of each of the two styles of the art, *Desi* and *Vadugu* were concentrated in one, so exquisite was her dance".

Of *Singala* we have nothing more specific than the name. Nonetheless, it is significant that the term *Singala* finds a place in a Tamil work, an obvious reflection of the inter-relations that prevailed in the early ages between the arts of South India and Ceylon.

Main Sources

The sources for the study of the Dance and Music of the Sinhalese, are mainly five: The Sandesa Kavyas of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries; Stone Sculptures; Wood Carvings preserved in certain temples to the gods; Carvings on Ivory Combs of the period, and Metallic Images excavated by the Archaeological Department of Ceylon. The present short study is limited in scope to the Sandesa Kavyas supplemented by incidental references to a few other poems of the Sinhalese literature.

The Sandesa Kavyas

Conspicuous in the range of the poetical literature of the Sinhalese of the Middle Ages, are the Sandesa Kavyas, poems inspired by the Sanskrit literature of India, specifically the Megha Sandesa of Kalidasa.

In chronological order, the Sandesa Kavyas are the Tisara Sandesa of the fourteenth century; the Gira (Parrot); the Hamsa (The Swan); the Kovul (Cuckoo); the Parevi (Pigeon) and the Selalihini (Maina) Sandesas, all of the fifteenth century.

Tisara Sandesa

Two of the verses of the Tisara Sandesa are herein extracted, the first enumerating the musical Instruments of the period:

"The Trumpet, the Ghatam (Pot), The Kettle Drum, the Patatantri and Damuru.

"The Copper drum, the Bombili, Vina producing sweet music, the Maddala, the Cymbals, Anklets and the Tinkling bells, and Drums numerous reverberated, like the ocean".

The dance-hall is featured in the verse below:

"Offerings to the fair god Gana, of fresh Malati flowers, carpeting the dance hall tinted blue.

Recall the figure of Vishnu sprinkled with

Drops of water from the ocean of Milk, churned with the Meru Mount".

In the verse below, we are given references to the talas, *Chatch, Chatch-Puta,* to the Flute and to the Seven-fold notes and to the Dancing girls:

The Parevi Sandesa

"Versed in the range of rhythms, Chatch, Chatch-Putha,
To the music of the flute and the Seven-fold Notes,
Delight at the dance of the alluring dancing maidens,
Excelling in grace and beauty,
The heavenly nymphs".

The two following verses from the Hamsa and the Kovul Sandesas, give us a revealing insight into the Bharata Natya Sastra and to the music and the fascination of the dancing girls.

The Hamsa Sandesa

Playing the pure *Maddala* rhythm
True to the art of Bharata Sastra,
Rouse the heart of all present
Who liken the Dancing Girls to the heavenly musicians.

The Kovul Sandesa

Be fascinated at the dancers, their golden lineaments vibrating,
With dark blue tresses jasmine bedecked;
Sweetly singing with pause and accents,
Hands in *hasta,* eyes shooting sidelong glances.

The synchronisation of the movements, is maintained in these lines of the Parevi Sandesa:

"Behold with joy the dance of the lovely maidens,
Harmonising their head, eye-brows and eyes,
The neck, hands, fingers and breasts,
Their shoulders, wide flanks, legs and feet".

Selalihini Sandesa

Now we come to the Selalihini Sandesa, by the greatest of the Sinhalese poets, Totegamuwe Sri Rahula. Outstanding in the whole range of Sinhalese literature, for its wealth of cultural

content as for its poetical imagery, Selalihini Sandesa presents in graphic language, the art of the dancing girls, the Nalangana, the Sinhalese counterpart of the Devadasi of South India at about the same period of time in the story of either land. In this Sandesa Kavya on the mid-fifteenth century, a message is conveyed by the minister of King Parakrama Bahu VI (1415-1467), to God Vibhishana of Kelani temple, invoking a male heir to the throne.

Among other features, techniques of *Aharyabhinaya* and *Angikabhinaya* of Bharata Natya stand conspicuous:

Verse 76

"Flickering flames of fire, they seem, these dancers in array,
On whose broad hips, hang the heavy waist folds, that ripple and flare,
Casting side-long glances at their arms, as they rise and fall, their lineaments illuminated in the light that reflects from their jewellery".

Verse 77

"Drink in the charms of these maidens who dance
Stamping their feet of lotus to beaten out rhythm
Swinging their girdles swathed round their lovely flanks
Wearing anklets hung with bells that wake into sound".

Savul Sandesa

In the 16th century appeared, Alagiyavanna's *Savul Sandesa*, a kavya which embodies features of certain other types of dance, such as the *Bahuri Ranga*, the Whirl, with the dancer swirling round so fast that her skirt spreads out like a white umbrella with her body as the axle.

In these Sandesa Kavyas, the bird that gives the name to the poem, is the messenger who bears a message addressed either to a God, or to a King. The bird presents a colourful picture of the dance performed at the devalaya or at the court of the king.

Yet another chronicle that contributes to the story of the Sinhalese dance, is the *Guttilakavya*, by poet Veteve Thera, a

disciple of Sri Rahula. A number of verses describe the dance of the celestial maidens. Two of the verses are cited below:

"Their arms bright as the glow of the lightning,
Move like myriad pictures in colours,
Their feet like gold and mercury, mixed,
Harmonising with the sweet strains of the Veena".
"Their side-long glances like Ananga's flowery darts,
Towards the onlookers directed,
Oh! the dances these celestial maidens danced,
Words fail to convey".

Present day Survivals

The Sacred Dance of the Sinhalese in the form that prevailed in the Middle Ages, is no more. Nevertheless, reflections of the past, linger today at the Saman Devala of Ratnapura and the Alutnuwara Dewala to God Kadira at Gampala. At Ratnapura there are twenty dancers. They have to dance at night of the annual Perahera and other festivals. At the Alutnuwara Kadiragama Dewala of Gampala, at present eight women perform dance services, at the Maha Perahera and the days of the Karthigai festivals.

The Vadiga Patuna

To conclude with a reference to the Vadiga Patuna, reminiscent of the Vadugu dance featured in the *Silappadikaram*. A dance that originated in magical rites in exorcism, today it is a showy dance of the Sinhalese of South Ceylon. Players wearing the typical South Indian dress of the bifurcated *dhoti*, and large ornate turbans to match, the Indian ancestry of the dance is most striking, the only dance play of the Sinhalese in purely South Indian costume.

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SOCIOLOGY OF FRIENDSHIP *

BY

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I have enjoyed the warmth of Dr. V. Raghavan's friendship for about four decades, and in all my efforts to popularise anthropology I have been receiving his whole-hearted support. I am indeed very happy to have this opportunity of paying my grateful tribute to him. Our friendship has been really altruistic, rooted in our shared interest in many facets of our traditional culture. Friendship is one of the most dominant values of Indian culture. I am very happy that my contribution to this Festschrift happens to be on a theme of wide interest to Indologists.

Sociology of friendship belongs to the area of research called small group studies popularised by George C. Homans and others. Small group-behaviour is "informal, sub-institutional or elementary social behaviour in closed net-works". Anthropologists concerned with somewhat larger groups which Redfield has designated *little communities* take over some of the insights of small group studies and try to understand and explain the structure and func-

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tion of their small-scale societies. Small group behaviour is in great part determined by the norms and values and broad motivational patterns of the whole society. Hence both these kinds of studies should go hand in hand. Sub-institutional behaviour tends to get institutionalized and this is exactly what has happened in the case of friendship in some cultures. It is this latter that I am chiefly concerned about in the present talk.

By understanding the dynamics of friendship in various situations, in rural and urban areas, in factories and offices, within and across language and ethnic frontiers, it is the hope of social scientists that problems of national integration can be handled on the basis of knowledge instead of some people's hunches. Such knowledge will help in building new institutions or adapting old institutions to match our new needs, personal, regional and national.

I first realized how ignorant we were about the social and psychological dimensions and dynamics of Indian friendship, and recognised the need for its scientific study in a cross-cultural situation in a foreign country, U.S.A. I was a visiting professor of social anthropology in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the Cornell University in 1953-54. There were about 35 Indian and Ceylonese students at Cornell then and several of them told me that they found American friendship superficial. I compared notes with my friend Dr. Cora Du Bois, now Zemurray Professor of Anthropology at Harvard who was then connected with the U.S. Committee on Cross-cultural education. "Indian students expect too much from friendship here and get frustrated" was her comment. I have been interested in the study of friendship during the last 12 years. At Harvard Dr. Du Bois held two seminars on the subject of friendship and I have been very kindly supplied with copies of these unpublished seminar reports with an editorial introduction by the Director of the seminar (Du Bois, 1955).

Dr. Du Bois and her associates agreed on the following preliminary premises :

1. The pattern of friendship behaviour is culturally determined.
2. For friendship, necessary but not sufficient conditions are initial physical proximity and reciprocal communication.

3. Psychologically, friendship involves gratifications.
4. The profile of friendship has to be studied and understood in the context of other interpersonal relationship and in the context of culturally given values.

A detailed comparative study could help in predicting "areas of congruence and incongruence in the friendship expectations between persons of different cultures".

Later from 1958 to 1966 I was in Orissa where I could get firsthand information on the social structure and culture of the tribal and non-tribal communities of that state through my students working in the Tribal Research Bureau and elsewhere. Both the tribes and castes of Orissa have *institutionalised* friendship of the *inalienable* type (Cohen 1961) known in anthropological writings as bond friendship or ritual friendship. Throughout Orissa, tribal Bihar and parts of Bengal, Assam and Madhya Pradesh, people enter into bond-friendship after the performance of appropriate ceremonies. A good number of these friendships are transient and not serious, but a fair proportion of them are very serious, and highly affective. I naturally asked myself the difficult but obvious question: Why is it that the Oriyas have elaborately institutionalised patterns of bond-friendship and why is it that in the southern states we do not have anything comparable to them ?

Published literature on friendship in India is very meagre. We have brief descriptive accounts of friendship in about 19 tribal communities of India.[1] The data presented in these ethnographers' reports do not lend themselves to structural or statistical analysis. The study of friendship among the Bhattras of Bastar by Tandon (1960) is an exception as it is both analytical and has attempted some quantification. Prof. Ghurye (1953) in a very interesting paper has analysed literary and philosophical accounts of friendship but leaves out the superb handling of the theme by the south Indian sage Tiru Valluvar and also by Tulsi Das. I am not aware of any psychological study of friendship in India. We are therefore in the very preliminary stage in our study of the sociology of

1. Baiga, Bhattra, Bhuiya, Birhor, Bondo, Didayi, Gadaba, Juang, Kharia, Kisan, Lakher, Kond, Ao Naga, Rengma Naga, Muria, Oraon, Santhal, Saora, Tharu,

friendship and as such most of the answers we might give now to the several questions raised can be only very tentative.

Problem of Definition

In the absence of adequate preliminary research information Dr. Cora Du Bois and her associates left the question of definition open, as, for their comparative purpose, a cross-culturally valid definition was needed. In the course of my interviewing, I discovered very early that Ss had difficulty in clearly conceptualing friendship. An interviewee, Mr. Nagesh, a senior Government of India officer said he could not think of any person whom he could call a friend. He added :

> Acquaintanceship is not friendship. Between friends there should be willingness to make sacrifices. Only if this condition is satisfied there will be mutual trust and confidence.
>
> Friendship requires: (a) patient hearing of each other's problems, (b) help on occasions and (c) frequent meetings to spend time together.

About 5% of my 60 Ss said they had no friends. Maulvi Muhamed Saiyid Khan (65) said:

> God is my friend. I have no human friends. I cannot say whether I am God's friend.

As a rider he added that he had a teacher who was his best friend. Dr. J., a medical man, said :

> I have no friends. The only friend I have is my wife.

Mrs. J. who was present at the time of the interview explained:

> He has had no troubles and little need for help or advice.
>
> He was friendly with some class fellows of his, but after passing his examinations, he left off their company.

Another Ss, an I.A.F. officer, said :

> My wife is my only friend. We are transferred so often that it is very difficult to make friendships last.

Apart from a minority of people who have no friends and others who treat their wives as their best and only friends, the vast majority seem to have friends. In interviewing, I found people had difficulty in talking about friends and friendship in general

terms, but when the question was about best friends they seemed to have less difficulty in the conceptualization of friendship.

Merton on Friendship

In a very stimulating paper, Lazarsfeld and Merton (1955) made a study of friendship as a social process in two U.S. neighbourhoods—Hilltown and Craftown. This paper was a demonstration piece in substantive and methodological analysis. The substantive part concerns the how of the formation and maintenance and disruption of friendship and the methodological part seeks to identify the variables in the above-mentioned processes. In the two housing projects Ss were asked to name three best friends. 10% said they did not have best friends. After sifting the responses 2000 Ss were investigated for patterns in the selection of close friends relative to likeness or differences in attitudes, values, status, etc. Merton found that the degree of similarity of *status attributes* of close friends varied greatly from complete limitation of friendship among those of the same *sex and race*, to negligible selection in terms of educational status. For the social attributes, the degree of selectivity differed in the two communities for religion, high selectivity in Hilltown, relatively little in Craftown. The social and cultural context provided by the community went far towards determining both the general extent of selecting *status similars* as close friends and the particular status for which such selectivity was most marked. The problem is far more complex than that suggested by the question "Do birds of the same feather flock together?" Selectivity varies with different kinds of social structure and for different kinds of social attributes.

As the English language lacks terms for different types of friendship Merton coined two terms, *Homophily* and *Heterophily* (cf. homogamy and heterogamy). By homophily he meant "tendency to form friendship between those who are alike in some designated respect (status homophily, value homophily, attitude homophily and so on). When, in spite of some differences in some attributes, friendships develop, it is termed heterophily." We can also speak of degrees in homophily and heterophily.

Research findings in U.S.A.

The bulk of the research done in U.S.A. in the field of friendship is of student groups. Briefly some of their research findings are as follows:

First contacts if mutually gratifying will motivate persons to seek further contacts.

Similarity in attitudes and values seems to be more significant in the choice of friends than complementarity.

Mutual need satisfaction, in other words, psychological symbiosis is an important role expectation.

Male students tend more to be hero worshippers in their friendship choice than girls who care for more mutuality.

Need satisfaction rank order ranges from (1) ego exaltation, (2) assistance, (3) ego protection, to (4) ego expression, for boys. For girls the rank order is (1) ego protection, (2) ego exaltation, (3) ego expression and (4) assistance.

Liberals and illiberals mutually under-select one another as friends.

The capacity for friendship seems to be a part of man's basic human nature. Craig MacAndrew and Robert Edgerton report (Transaction) the strange case of friendship between two mentally retarded persons of a U.S. mental hospital, one an epileptic with I.Q. 31 and the other a 32 year old blind individual with I.Q. 34. These two worked and relaxed together and each did his best to make the other happy. Friendship here seems to have little to do with conation.

Friendship in Eastern and Western Great Traditions

From the dawn of her history, friendship has been valued in India. In a conversation between Yama and his sister Yami in a Vedic story, friendship is discussed. *Mitra*, a very common Sanskrit word for friend is used in the same sense in the Vedas. The word also stands for sun. The life-supporting attributes of the sun and its brightness are perhaps the semantic links that connect the sun with the attributes of friendship. The Vedic Indo-Aryan idea that two good people become friends if they walk seven steps together is the basis of the 'seven-steps' rite in the Vedic marriage ceremonies. This rite expressively symbolises the Vedic belief that marital partners are also the best of friends. Age homophily in friendship in India is suggested by the Sanskrit term *vayasya*

(meaning 'of the same age') for friend, homophily in attitudes by the term *suhrid* (of good heart) and easy, frictionless relationship between friends by the term *sneha* (literally oiliness) for friendship. That friendship thrives best between equals is also an ancient Indian belief. The well-known altruistic friendship between Krishna and Sudama should be regarded as an exception to the rule to demonstrate the magnanimity of a person of very high rank to a poor class-mate of his. Valmiki's treatment of friendship in his Ramayana apropos Rama and Sugriva, his definition of friendship and his exaltation of friendly promise into a sacred contract have been dealt with by Dr. Raghavan in the section (IInd) on Sugriva in his *Ramayana Triveni* (pp. 13-25).

In the prayer which all Swetambara Jains are expected to repeat morning and evening there is a verse which means:

> I forgive all
> Let all forgive me
> I am friend of all creatures
> I have enmity with none.

The philosophy of Jainism is cold and stoic and it does not seem to encourage the emotional intensity necessary for warm friendship. The negative attitude of the Jains towards friendship is echoed in the following verse attributed to Mahavira:

> Oh man, you are yourself your friend
> Why are you seeking friends outside?

Tulsi Das, in his *Rama Charita Manasa,* has several verses idealizing friendship in noble terms:

> Friendship is a noble emotion that human beings prize.
> It heightens happiness and diminishes misery.

About the obligations of friendship, the poet says:

> It is a sin even to look at a person who is indifferent to the sorrow of a friend. A friend's trouble may be as small as a particle of dust, but a good friend makes a mountain of it, while in the case of his own trouble, however big it may be, he minimises it to a particle of dust so as not to cause uneasiness to his friend.
>
> A good friend leads his companion from the path of evil to the path of righteousness. He hides his friend's faults and proclaims his virtues.

A good friend has no uneasiness in taking from or giving to his friend. He always does good to his friend according to his capacity.

A good friend shows his concern for his friend a hundred-fold during the time of his adversity. These are the characteristics of a friend according to the Vedas and the saints.

The Tamil sage, Valluvar, has many profound things to say in his Kural about friendship, pseudo-friendship, the choice of friends, and the cultivation of friendship. According to Valluvar, some temperamental similarity is essential for the formation of friendship and if this condition is satisfied, little time is needed for friendship to develop (verse 755). About the glory of friendship he says:

What is there nobler than the acquisition of friendship ?

Is there any better security (for your work) than friendship ? (verse 781)

Friendship of the wise resembles the waxing moon ;

That of the unwise fades away like the waning moon.

The world applauds long-established friends who do not forsake each other.

As the study and re-study of good literature gives you increasing joy so does the friendship of good men give increasing happiness in course of time.

As regards the role of friends, according to Valluvar, they are to render mutual help in times of need (verse 796); they share misfortunes; friends have not merely to be pleasant to each other but check any tendency to do wrong things. On the obligation for mutual help and correction between friends, Valluvar agrees with Tulsi Das. Valluvar warns his readers against the risks of spurious friendship :

Those who value friendship only for the sake of gains from it are like avaricious prostitutes and thieves (verse 813).

A smile on the face (external show of friendship) is no index of friendship. The heart should smile in friendship (verse 786).

A pesrson may often say 'so-and-so is my friend, I am his friend' and so on, yet friendship may not be there (unless words are matched by deeds).

In a chapter on "Tests of friendship", Valluvar asks people not to rush into friendship. Friendship, he says, should be with persons belonging to worthy families, with persons who will lead you on the path of righteousness. Once you establish friendship it is difficult to withdraw from it, hence the need for precautions. Adversity is the test of friendship. Says the sage :.

> Adversity has its uses for it is the yardstick that measures the genuineness of friendship (verse 796).

The spectrum of views about friendship found in the writings of western philosophers and literary men range from cynical references to fulsome eulogy. Scepticism about is expressed by Sophocles (496-406 B.C.) when he says :

> ..... for of mortals most
> Find friendship an unstable anchorage.

A similar view finds expression in the English sayings "A friend is not so soon gotten as lost" and "A friend is never known till a man is in need". Homer rated friendship very high. He said, "Two friends, two bodies with one soul inspired." Diogenes said almost the same thing about friendship ; A friend is one soul abiding in two bodies. When Zeno was asked what a friend was, he replied "Another I." Ancient Hebrew wisdom has this saying about friendship: Iron sharpeneth iron, so a friend sharpeneth the countenance of his friend. Shakespeare refers to a friend as "my second self" and "my nearest relation". For Dr. Johnson friendship is "one of the comforts of this weary pilgrimage". Pseudo-friendship is the implication of the 16th century English proverb "All are not friends that speaketh fair". Bacon considered friendship so important that he said, a man "if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage ..... Your joy doubles when shared by a friend, your sorrows halve when shared by a friend.... Friend's advice and counsel throw daylight on the understanding out of the darkness and confusion of thoughts.....There is no such flatterer as is a man's self and there is no such remedy against a man's self as is the liberty of a friend". The third of the several fruits of friendship, according to Bacon, is "the aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions." In conclusion, says Bacon :

> The ancient said "a friend is another self" but this is an understatement.....A friend is far more than himself to an individual.

In his near poetic treatment of friendship, Bacon almost parallels Valmiki, Valluvar and Tulsi Das of India, and also the German Goethe. What they admire is the ideal type of friendship rarely achieved in actual life but celebrated in legends such as the friendship between Rama and Sugriva, Damon and Pythias, and so on.

What Cicero said about friendly obligations—"how many things which for our sake we should never do, we perform for the sake of our friends?"—sounds like an echo of Tulsi Das. "Nothing can be more disgraceful than to be at war with him with whom you have lived on terms of friendship" said Cicero. The same view has been expressed by Valluvar.

A comparative account of the ideal type of friendship in the ancient civilizations of the world illustrated with examples will certainly be of great interest. My little exercise in comparison suggests that there is an air of universality in the idealization of friendship in India and Europe of the pre-industrial millennia.

Friendship in Orissa

East-central India which includes Orissa and the tribal belt of Chotanagpur and middle-eastern India may be characterised as the land of bond-friendship and fictive kinship where friendship whether of the serious or non-serious fugitive type are sacralised by appropriate rituals. Apart from friendships contracted in and near the villages, many were entered into during the course of pilgrimages and business journeys. About 30 to 40 years ago it was not unusual for villagers of all ages to go to fairs and temple festivals in groups and avail themselves of the opportunities to make friends. After the initial contacts and establishing rapport, further stimulus to perform the binding rituals would be provided by points of similarity, such as identity in name, same number of children, and so on, or by felt psychological needs of the prospective friends. Friendships are usually between members of the same sex. Women friends are mutually *sahi* (variant of the Sanskrit *sakhi*) and men friends, mutually *sangata* ('come together', 'of one body'). Caste is no barrier to friendship and numerous friendships are across the caste line. Many friendships are formed at the pilgrim centre of Puri where the great temple of Lord Jagannath is the Mecca of the Hindus of the vast region we have under consideration. The following case studies illustrate the ways in which friendships are contracted:

Illustrative Case I. In 1960, Udesan Das, a Kela (25) while visiting Nua Bazar, Cuttack, cured the eye-trouble of the son of Nidhi Bhoi (60), a Bhauri. Nidhi was very much attracted by Udesan. Nidhi and Udesan became *sangata*. As Nidhi became ritual father (*dharma bapa*) of Udesan and the latter his ritual son (*dharam puo*). The two helped each other just like close relatives on formal as well as informal occasions. At times Nidhi visits Udesan and his family and eats their cooked food. Generally Bauris do not eat cooked food from the hands of Kelas.

By entering into friendship and fictive kinship that follows bond-friendship, the two families overcome the taboo against commensalism and establish closer interaction than is normally possible in a caste society.

Illustrative Case 2. Provas (25) a young assistant in a public office, had no brothers or sisters of his own. Another clerk in the same office, by name Bissoy, and Provas became good friends. They decided to become bond-friends and performed the rituals, exchanged the usual gifts, and became ritual brothers. Provas was Karan by caste and Bissoy, Khandayat which is inferior to Karan.

In the above case, the initiative was taken by Provas because it was he who felt the need for a fictive brother.

Illustrative Case 3. A young actor of a wandering drama party while camping at village U., began to feel very lonely. An elderly Brahmin woman of the village, wife of a police officer in a near-by town, took maternal interest in him. The actor requested her to become his ritual mother and the proper ceremony was duly performed. When the police officer returned home on leave, the actor who had automatically become his ritual son was introduced to him and he fell at his ritual father's feet to salute him and was blessed by him. For a long time the contact was maintained by correspondence but afterwards it wore off.

Illustrative Case 4. In village U., Mahapatra, a Brahmin, employed a carpenter for his house construction. He was a very skilled worker and in the course of a few days friendship developed between the employer and employee. The carpenter recently had lost a dearly loved brother-in-law (sister's husband). He suggested to Mahapatra that they become ritual brothers-in-law and the ceremonies were conducted to make Mrs. Mahapatra and the carpenter ritual brother and sister so that Mr. Mahapatra could be the carpenter's ritual

brother-in-law. The carpenter now is invited for important functions in Mahapatra's household in the same manner as their Brahmin relatives and he makes the same kind of ceremonial gifts as relatives do.

Illustrative Case 5. Mahashwar Nayak was a betel shop-keeper. Ghulam Khan, a Muslim, was just slightly known to him. Once, at a fair, where Nayak had set up his shop, he fell asleep, but Ghulam Khan who saw him asleep woke him up. If he had not done so, Nayak's cash and goods might have been stolen. This was the beginning of their long friendship. Ghulam Khan took the initiative and sent Nayak his gift of sacralised sweets from the Puri temple. The gift was sent through a Brahmin. Ghulam Khan did not eat the sweets, but all the same, eating the holy sweets sent by the Mohammedan was considered equivalent to the ritual eating of holy offerings.

Hindu-Muslim ritual friendship, though relatively few in number, are one of the proofs of inter-religious concord in Orissa. They show that given the willingness to live amicably together communal discord is avoidable. Friendship is a powerful solvent of caste and communal differences.

Some friendships start in boyhood at school or when boys graze cattle, but most of the serious types of inalienable friendships commence during adolescence or adulthood. Cross-sex friendships of the serious type are limited to males and women are involved in it only indirectly. Sometimes friendships are entered into to put an end to quarrels as in the following case :

At a game of cards two neighbours, Mahendra Biswal (22) and Lokanath Panda (22) came to blows. Mahendra describes what happened afterwards: "The game could not continue further. For a week Lokanath and I did not speak to each other. I then requested my mother to tell Lokanath's mother that I wanted to establish friendship with him, that I was sorry and grieved that my playmate and I were estranged. My house is only about 50 yards from Lokanath's house and both of us were fatherless from our childhood. My mother conveyed my message to Lokanath's mother, and all the four of us agreed to establish ritual friendship. This was eight years ago when I was fourteen years old and was studying in class VI. On the day fixed for the ceremony, we went to the shrine of Bhagei, our village deity, with offerings of coconut, fried paddy with molasses (*ukhuda*) and ripe bananas. We placed the offerings in each other's mouth and

exchanged gifts of clothes and took the oath of eternal friendship. Lokanath has 8 acres of wet land which he cultivates himself. He married recently. On the occasion of his marriage, he sent us betel nuts and clothes[2] and we sent him gifts of vegetables such as potato, green bananas, sweet potato, pumpkins, brinials etc. I went with the bridegroom's party to the bride's village .... During my absence from the village my friend looks after my property."

In the case of friendship between young men, the parents very often take the initiative to conduct the ceremony to make them bond-friends. In a few cases of friendships in my sample, one of the parties was asked in a dream by a deity to establish bond-friendship. Such was the case with Saheb Dolabehera, a Suddha Saora, whom I met at the Hill Saora Colony near Udayagiri, Ganjam District, in February 1965. About 17 years ago, he had a dream in which a voice asked him to establish ritual friendship with his friend, Naik, a Hill Saora and warned him of great danger if he failed to do so. He told his parents of this dream and they made arrangements for the ceremonies to seal the friendship. The Suddha Saoras are de-tribalised Saoras who have given up their tribal language and a good deal of their tribal culture. Between them and the Hill Saoras there is neither marriage nor commensality now. When I interviewed him, Saheb Dolabehara was cooking his food in front of Naik's house. His friend and host, Naik, had given him cooking vessels and provisions. The two have been keeping up their friendship for 17 years. Tandon (1960) reports similar cases of tribal women establishing friendships on a mass scale on dream commands issued by a local goddess of Jagdalpur, M.P.

Cross-Sexual Friendship

Serious friendship between men and women is rare among the Oriyas. In my collection of case histories there are only two such instances, one of a girl at College establishing fictive brother-sister relationship with a class-fellow her object being her own protection from scandal-mongers; the second, of the wife of a cowherd and the son of the headman of the neighbouring village

2. When close relatives are invited for marriage, the personal invitation should be accompanied with gifts of arecanuts and clothes.

of Juangs establishing mother-son relationship. The frequency of the cases of fictive brother-sister and mother-son relationships might be larger than the 3% in my sample if it were possible to have a state-wide sample. In tribal areas cross-sex bond-friendship is used instrumentally by young men and women to facilitate premarital sex contacts. Among the Gadabas, for example, during the month of Chaitra (March-April) when there is a great deal of dancing and merry-making, young men and women who are attracted towards each other would exchange sweets and flowers and bind their friendship. The word for such cross-sex friends is *gotti* which literally means 'affinal relative' but this word has come to have another meaning, bond-labourer. Gotti friendship among the Gadabas is open and approved and is usually followed by further visits and exchanges of gifts. Generally Gottis do not marry though there is no bar to marriage between them. Such friendships with very slight variations in the rituals are common between girls and also between boys and girls among almost all the tribes of Orissa. Among some tribes such as the Bhattras the cross-sex friendships may be inter-tribal and also between the tribals and some of their Hindu neighbours. Among most of the tribes, in the ceremonies for binding friendship between adolescents, there are no oaths or the invocation of gods, in other words, the ceremonies are secular. In the case of serious friendship between adults, the tribal communities seem to have taken over some of the Hindu rites such as the use of sacralized food and the invocation of the gods. I have formed the impression that the practice of ceremonial binding of friendship is a social invention of the tribal communities which has been borrowed by the Oriyas. While borrowing they have been selective in that they did not take over the cross-sex friendship of the tribal as it is incongruous with the sex code of the Hindus which confines sexuality within marriage. The following account of bond-friendship amon the Didayis illustrates among other things what has been borrowed and also the endogenous traits in their bond-friendship syndrome:

Bond-Friendship or Masat among the Didayis of Koraput

Among the Didayis, a Mundari-speaking tribe of southern Orissa, there is great elaboration of ceremonials connected with serious friendship between men which they call *masat*. The ex-

pressive symbolism of the ritual complex seems to be their own but during the last two decades, leaves of the holy basil, tulsi, have been introduced into the rites, obviously due to Hindu influence. The Bondo tribesmen, neighbours of the Didayis, have introduced the sacralized food offerings of the Puri temple (*mahaprasad*) into their friendship rituals. Masats do not address each other by name but as masat. Masats help each other in agricultural and other work when outside help is needed. When they meet, they salute each other ceremoniously, and while smoking *beedi* each touches the other's *beedi* and light it with the same matchstick.

Mutual attraction and informal friendship precede the formal rituals of friendship. Usually these ceremonies are conducted in March-April on any Friday at 12 noon. The friend who takes the initiative proceeds with his parents and friends to the others village with rice, carycta wine, salt, chillies and onions and a goat to be killed for the feast. On arrival they are received by the mother and wife of Alter who mark the visitors' feet with turmeric paste. The visitors in their turn sprinkle turmeric powder on their hosts. A priest (Guniar) conducts the ceremonies that follow. The two friends sit by side. The Guniar loudly says: "You are friends from today." He then hands over leaf-cups with caryota wine to them. They exchange the cups and each sips wine from his cup. This is repeated thrice, each uttering "we are friends from today." Together they put out flame of the wicks in the oil lamps in front of them by waving their hands and while doing so, they say "We are friends from today." The Guniar pours water into their cupped hands and they sip the water and repeat "We are friends from today." The Guniar places white flowers on their palms and these flowers they place over the ears of each other repeating the formula as before. The priest sprinkles water on their heads. The friends take a piece of thread and snap it and say, "We are friends from today. If we ever quarrel, may our life break like this thread." Alter's wife who now automatically attains the status of *mastani* (female friend) bathes the friend with warm water after smearing turmeric on his body. After the bath the friend wears the new *dhoti* presented to him by Alter. The two friends together smoke *beedi* in the ceremonial style mentioned above. The meat of the goat which has been cooked by now is served on seven leaf-plates to

the two friends who feed each other. After this the friends pour palm wine into each other's mouth. After the general feast for the visitors and other invitees, Alter gives his friends return gift of provisions, wine and meat to carry home. Alter then lifts his friend on his shoulder and carries him in procession to his village. After a week, feasting is repeated at the friends' house.

Those who are familiar with Orissan ritual complex will have little difficulty in recognizing that ritual items such as drinking wine, snapping the thread, and carrying the friend on the shoulder, etc. are tribal inventions. Rituals connected with bond-friendship among with Kond tribe of Orissa and the Bhattras of Bastar are also quite elaborate involving the consumption of meat and liquor and solemn oaths and curse.

The wisdom and inventiveness of the Oraons of Chotanagpur are evident in the institutionalized friendship of the women married into a village. As the Oraons practice village exogamy, the women married into a village are usually strangers to one another. Ritual friendship known as *sahiaro* between these women builds up sisterly bonds between them. The ceremonies are elaborate and include offerings to the village goddess, sharing of sacralised eatables, exchange of wearing apparel and feasting. Two *sahias* thus united bind their respective marital families as if they were related by blood ties (see Roy, *The Oraons*).

Types and Names of Friendship

Friendships, as we have indicated above, vary in seriousness. The most serious, inalienable type of friendship, cemented by the ceremonial sharing of the *mahaprasada* (great sacralised offerings) of the Puri temple is essentially a masculine affair. Friendships of the serious type but less binding than the *mahaprasada* type may be solemnised by the sacralised offerings from other temples of lesser importance. These friendships are named after the particular eatable which forms the offering, for example *abadha*. Friendships contracted on certain holy days are named after them, for example *chanda* contracted on the full-moon day; *asoka*, on *asoka ashtami*, *baula* (mango-bud) on *baula*, new-moon day); when friendships are contracted with water from holy rivers, for example, Godavari, and Ganga. Girls exchange

flowers and name their friends after the flowers so used. Spices are also similarly used, e.g., cardamom (Gujerati). A variety of friendship is named *saragaphal* (hall stone). In another variety known as *suryabandhu* (solar friend) the Sun is invoked as witness; the contracting friends look at the Sun and pour water on each other's feet. The varieties of friendship named after flowers entered into by both men and women in tribal areas is limited to women in the non-tribal groups.

Friendship and Ritual Kinship

Bond friendship in Orissa and neighbouring areas creates fictive kinship and is very much like the god-father institution of Latin America. Bond-friends of the serious type in middle and eastern India regard themselves as agnatic kin. The relatives of the two friends automatically assume their respective kinship positions. The father of the friend becomes *dharam bapa* (ritual father) to Alter, and so on, and members of the kindred adopt the appropriate kinship pattern, including the obligatory gifts and observance of ritual pollution on deaths. The focus of the ritually established net-work of fictive kinship is the dyad of friends. What is always remembered and emphasized is their central role and what the others do by their role playing is to support and maintain their bond-friendship. While informal friendship is a private affair between two individuals, ritual friendship is semi-public.

Du Bois (1955) doubts whether friendship is a necessary ingredient of ritual kinship in all cases. I have examined this question rather carefully in the matter of friendships between Kond tribesmen and Panos who are their business associates. The Panos in general have been described as exploiters of the Konds. In my case histories of Kond-Pano friendship, I was surprised to find that in the majority of cases, the initiative for establishing friendship was taken by the Kond tribesmen and not the Pano counterparts, and in these cases friendship preceded the contract of bond-friendship. This is also true of the majority of Oriya case histories. In some of the case histories in which bond-friendship was used instrumentally to patch up quarrels, Du Bois' doubt seems to be valid, but in the case I cited genuine friendship followed the ritual.

Impact of modernization

Friendships are somewhat difficult to maintain under modern conditions of occupational and spatial mobility and consequent income differentials. Friendships begun in boyhood in the village between status similars get sometimes broken when one of the partners becomes a high official in the city and the other continues poor in the natal village (my case no. 47). About 50 years ago it was common for traders to carry their merchandise on pack-bullocks to the interior and for them to establish friendship with the villagers. Similarly pilgrims coming from long distances to Puri had to depend on friends and on Panda Brahmin pilgrim guides. With better and quicker transport traders as well as pilgrims are now less dependent and this has reduced the number of friendships contracted by traders and pilgrims. Market towns have sprung up every where and trade is much less personalised. Wide dispersal of educated people makes it difficult for them to meet friends and keep up useful contacts. For members of the small category of highly westernised *elite*, ritual friendship is a sign of lack of sophistication. Such disregard of the value of ritual friendship is however confined to a very small minority in Orissa.

Clever moderns have not been slow in putting ritual friendship to new uses. During elections, contesting candidates ensure the support of friends new and old by invoking bond-friendship. I have been told that during election seasons the sale of *mahaprasada* (sacralised food offerings) goes up at the Puri temple! An Oriya anthropologist told me that during his field work among the Juangs of Keonjhar, he established bond-friendship with a tribesman using *tulsi* leaf in water for the ceremony. The courts in Orissa recognize that bond-friends act towards each other as though they are relatives. Witnesses are challenged if they are known to be bond-friends of parties in law suits. I know a case in which a friendship broke down because one of the dyad refused to give false evidence in the court.

Individual & Social Goals of Friendship

By extending a kin-like net-work of relation beyond his own kindred the partner in bond-friendship adds a new voluntary dimension achieved by him to his ascribed roles, thereby streng-

thening his security system at the emotional, social and also economic levels. His personal gains contribute not only to his welfare but in a smaller measure to that of the members of the kindreds of both the partners. The cumulative effect of the extension of friendly relations is the better integration of the whole society, since, as we have been, friendships are voluntary and cuts across caste lines. More than half the number of case histories I have are of inter-caste friendship which makes me hypothesize that bond-friendship in Orissa may in part be a means of escape from the constraints of caste. It certainly does reduce inter-caste social distance and build emotional bridges between groups such as tribes and castes, for example between Santhals and Dikus.

I started with the question of cultural differentials in the patterning of friendship, specifically the differences in the role expectations of Indians and Americans. George V. Coelho (Du Bois 1955, unpublished Seminar paper) has put forward the following hypothesis to explain the difference:

> In a society where sanctions against cross-sex associations are strong, friendships are likely to be few, and deep or intense, unspecific and extensive in demands and relatively enduring (p. 17).

Within India the logical expectation on this hypothesis is that friendship will be stronger among the Muslims than among the Oriyas and stronger among the Oriyas than among Telugu, Tamil or Malayalam speaking people. I have no comparative data on friendship among Muslims. On the basis of the data I have on the other communities, I can only say that the frequency of friendship and the ceremonial support of friendship in Oraon inclines me to agree with Coelho in part though I must hasten to add that I am not quite sure whether elaboration and institutionalization means greater intensity of friendship. Sex segregation may be one factor but not sufficient or necessary to explain the difference.

The data from the tribal areas of India however do not support Coelho's proposition. Among most of the tribes among whom friendship is of high frequency and intensity, cross sexual associations leading to pre-marital sex relations are permitted. The data on Burmese friendship also does not fall in line with Coelho's hypothesis. In Burma cross-sexual associations are allowed and friendship which merges with kinship is common.

The lack of sanctions against cross-sexual associations, therefore does not seem to be sufficient and necessary conditions for the lack of intensity of friendships in U.S.A. Comparisons across the continents cannot be fruitfully undertaken unless we have far more extensive and thorough data than we have got at present.

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YOGASANAS TO MAINTAIN HEALTH AND CURE DISEASES

BY

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Yogena cittasya padena vācām malam śarīrasya ca vaidyakena/
Yo'pākarot tam pravaram munīnām Patañjalim prāñjalir ānato'smi//

"I bow to the great muni Patanjali, who cleared the faults of the mind by his Yoga sutras, corrected the mistakes of speech by his work on grammar and removed the defects of the body by his medical treatise".

This sloka conveys the meaning that the author of Yoga sutras, Vyakarana Bhashya and Charaka Samhita are one and the same person. It may or may not be correct. The purpose in quoting this sloka is, that in ancient India people recognised that the body, speech and mind should function in union with one another. If the mind is attended to, the body will function normally, and if the body is kept healthy, the mind also will function normally, because of their interrelation and interdependence. This idea has a bearing in the practice of *yogasanas.*

The term yoga means, joining the mind with the object of meditation. There are two branches of yoga — the Raja yoga which develops the mind and the Hatha yoga which develops the body as a preliminary act to the development of the mind and meditation on the supreme. The ultimate desire of a human being is to attain salvation. While the person is endeavouring to reach the supreme self by meditation etc., he should not be afflicted with bodily ailment, which would prevent or delay the process of union. So, by certain regimen in diet and conduct and by certain *asanas,* a person can ward off the diseases and even if a disease comes, it could be cured by certain yogic practices. and postures. These are called *yoga mudras* and *yogasanas.*

Students of yoga do not admit, and rightly so, that these *asanas* are merely physical culture to develop the muscles of the body, but claim these are special postures and neuro-muscular controls, which give the body resistance and tone, and at the same time aid the mental discipline and tranquillise any emotional disturbance. The idea is that, certain postures stimulate certain group of nerves and organs, which in their turn stimulate certain thoughts and control certain emotions.

Patanjali in his Yoga sutras says, '*asana* or posture' should be steady and comfortable '*Sthira-sukham āsanam*' II-46. Physical body if kept in a particular posture for a long time, tends to cause pain and discomfort. But if a *yogi* or *sadhaka* practices assiduously for a long time, the discomfort disappears. While there is immobility, of the body there should also be relaxation of mind and not tension. This relaxation or disappearance of tension comes slowly and gradually by practice. Patanjali says, that while practising *asana,* there should be relaxation of effort, "Prayatna saithilya". According to the Hatha yoga pradipaka, the practice of *asanas* makes the body hard, prevents diseases and makes the body supple and light.

Kuryāt tadāsanam sthairyam ārogyam ca aṅgalāghavam/

The important organs of the body are situated in the abdomen, thorax and head. The limbs have got nothing to do except to aid the locomotion and motor activity of the body. Most of the *asanas* also give emphasis on these parts. If the organs that are situated in the abdomen, thorax and head function normally, one can expect a healthy and long life. If for any reason, these organs get diseased, the functions of these organs also get upset and the man gets diseases attributed to those organs. As a consequence the mind also gets upset. The reverse also is true. If due to any emotional disturbance, the nervous system is stimulated, certain functional changes take place, the continuance of that emotional disturbance and functional imbalance cause organic changes. For example, if a person is having worry and anxiety, there may be rise in the secretion of gastric juice and hydrochloric acid which gives hyperchlorhydria—a functional change. When that state continues the person gets peptic ulcer—an organic change.

With improved methods of public health organisation and sanitation, infective and communicable diseases are now being eradicated, but at the same time there is an increase in the diseases of the mind and of the nervous system. These are mainly due to the increased stress caused by modern civilization. So it is essential that in future more and greater attention should be to remove the factors, that cause stress and emotional disturbance. There are certain *asanas* which are intended to prevent psychogenic diseases.

It has been found that regular practice of *asanas* not only gives physical tone to the various parts of the body and stimulate proper nervous functioning of the organs, but also calms the mind. In the performance of the *asanas,* there should be coordination of the mind and body. It is found that in many diseases of the psychosomatic origin, the regular practice of these *asanas,* cures the physical diseases and prevents mental agitation.

It is not possible to describe in this short paper every *asana* and try to evaluate its uses as preventive and curative measures to certain diseases. But I will take one or two to illustrate. As the description how to perform them would be found in any book on *yogasanas* I merely mention them and their uses.

These *asanas* are to be performed as a rule in the mornings and with empty stomach. Some *asanas* may however be performed in the evenings. The amount of time required for performing the *asanas* depend mostly on the general strength of the person and on the seasonal variations. A person has natural strength to a high degree in winter (Hemanta and Sisira), poor strength in summer and rainy seasons (Grishma and Varsha) and moderate strength in spring and autumn (Vasanta and Sarat).

Śīte'gryam virṣṭigharmālpam balam madhyam tu śeṣayoḥ
(Vāgbhaṭa)

This definition is to guide an individual that in cold seasons he may have to reduce it to a minimum.

Padmasana

This is for the purpose of meditation and preserving the tone and elasticity of the lower extremities. This posture is very

simple and could be performed by everybody with certain amount of care. This corrects the deformity of the lower limbs and prevents the possibility of diseases of joints. The nerves are toned up and so their functions become normal.

More attention is given to the abdomen and thorax in these *asanas* as digestive organs heart and lungs are placed in these regions. *Nowlee, Uddiyana, Vipareeta, Karani* and *Sarvanga asanas* are some of the *asanas* which activate not only the abdomen but also the heart and lungs.

In *Sarvangasana* and *Vipareeta Karani,* it will be seen that the blood is brought from the lower extremities to the abdomen by gravity and thus the venous blood is drained from the pelvic and abdominal organs. The breathing becomes normal and rhythmic. According to Hatha yoga, these exercises of inverted balance is to bring about harmony of circulation, nervous control and muscular action. *Vipareeta Karani* aids digestion, maintains the original colour of the hair and gives youthful vigour to the body. These poses increase the lung activity to more than 50% and the blood pressure temporarily, is raised to about 20%. In these postures, not only functional disorders of the abdominal organs are cured, but also displacement of organs Visiroptosis, prolapse of the uterus, varicose veins of the lower extremities and asthma are cured.

I may also mention here, *Matsyasana* and *Ardha matsyendrasana.* These postures are intended to have the vertebral column in proper condition. These aid the easy movement of the vertebral column and the suppleness of the muscles attached to it. These are useful to correct certain deformities of the spine and also give a certain amount of relaxation to abdominal muscles. Experts say that these should be done immediately after the *Sirshasana, Sarvangasana* and *Vipareeta Karani.* Certain degenerative diseases which come to vertebral column in old age as spondilosis, rheumatic stondilities etc. may be prevented by the *asanas.* I will mention only one more of these *asanas* and that is *Sirshasana.* While the above mentioned *asanas* help the digestion, assimilation and generally the metabolism of the body and said to organise the effects of secretion of the ductless gland, this *asana* as a whole helps the proper maintenance of the nervous system, by strengthen-

ing the brain which gets mechanically a large supply of blood and consequently large supply of oxygen. Brain does not contain large amount of nerve cells only, but also other cells in the unexplored areas which are probably the centres of emotion, intellectual function etc. When these cells are bathed with the nourishing fluid and when biochemical changes take place, the cells become activated and are capable of doing better work. Incidentally, the pituitary and pineal glands also function with greater efficiency and the body gets the benefit. In fact the whole system becomes youthful.

However, certain precautions have to be taken in doing this. This should not be begun for the first time after 50 years of age and without a proper instructor. As the blood vessels after 50 years of age lose the original elasticity, it is dangerous to have an onrush of blood to the brain. Another thing is that pose should not be kept for a long time as it would cause drainage from the vessels of the legs and abdomen. Instead of keeping the pose for a long time one can have it repeated three or four times at short intervals.

In all these *asanas* or poses as explained already, there is also rhythmic and deep breathing, which is termed as *Pranayama*. When more and more pranavayu or oxygen is utilised, there is greater activity of the cells. So a person while practising these *asanas* should also practice proper breathing methods to have the full benefit.

In the end one has to do what is called *Savasana* or complete relaxation. This relaxation should begin from the toe and gradually go upwards. It is not difficult. When one practices with determination, it is possible, to have complete relaxation of all the muscles.

Fortunately for us, the scientists nowadays are having various apparatus, instruments and other gadgets to study and demonstrate the various activities of the body. In the All India institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, experiments have been carried to study the effect of *asanas* on various parts of the body and it has been objectively demonstrated, that it is possible to control the autonomous nervous activity by the mind. So the

cult of the yoga whether it is Hatha yoga or Raja yoga is not merely a metaphysical system of our ancients. It is a practical science evolved for the benefit of the humanity at large, so that, by these simple poses one can live not only healthily, but, if due to any indiscretion, a disease comes, even that could be cured. However, these are not intended to replace the medical science but only to aid such cases that are beyond medical help or as a prevention of diseases, particularly of psychosomatic nature.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE 'IMAGINARY' THROUGH THE GLASSES OF MATHEMATICS

BY

DR. D. ARKASOMAYAJI, M.A., PH.D.

Comparable to the 'Imaginary' as seen in Advaita or in Schopenhauer's conception of the world as Idea-as clarified in the words: 'What man knows is not a Sun and an earth, but only an eye that sees a Sun and hand that feels an earth; the world which surrounds him is there only as an idea i.e. only in relation to something else, the consciousness, which is himself.[1] There is an 'Imaginary' in Mathematics also. This may be simply illustrated as follows.

Problem 1: What is that number from the square of which if thrice the number is substracted, we have ten as the remainder?

Answer: Let the number be x; substracting 3x from x^2, the remainder is to be 10.

Therefore, $x^2-3x=10$ ie. $x^2-3x-10=0$
Therefore $x^2-5x+2x-10=0$
Therefore $x(x-5)+2(x-5)=0$
Therefore $(x-5)\ (x+2)=0$ Therefore $x=5$ or -2

Note: Here when the problem was framed, the author had the number 5 only at the back of his mind; but behold the number -2 also reveals itself as a solution, for, this number as well satisfies the conditions of the problem. In this problem, it will be noted the roots of the equation are two real numbers 5 and -2; but the following problem does not give us such a solution.

Problem 2: What is that number from the square of which if twice the number be substracted and then two be added to the remainder we get zero.

1. Vide Drig-drsya-viveka where we meet with the same expression.

ie. $x^2-2x+2=0 \therefore x^2-2x+1=-1$

$\therefore (x-1)^2=-1=(\sqrt{-1})^2 \therefore x-1=\pm\sqrt{-1}$

or writing i for $\sqrt{-1}$, $x-1=\pm i$

$\therefore x=1\pm i$ ie. $1+i$ or $1-i$

We have written i for $\sqrt{-1}$ as it will be seen that there does not exist a square root of the number -1; it is termed an imaginary number and the letter i is taken to signify that. Thus, though the first problem cited has two real solutions, the second, which is exactly similar has two imaginary solutions. Hence the concept of the 'Imaginary' came to knock at the door of the Mathematician in a very natural situation. Any scientist, other than a Mathematician, would have rejected these imaginary entities downright, for, they feel, that their business is to deal with things real and substantial; but a Mathematician would not. He accepted these imaginary numbers also into his fold and behold! through the good offices of these so called imaginary numbers, they were able to discover wonderful theorems, which hold good in the real field, and which would have been lost to him had he not given these imaginary numbers an 'existence', be it imaginary.

Today, even a scientist, for example a nuclear scientist, will no more count upon the so-called reality or substantiality of the things that have been hitherto held to be as real as real could be; for, in the wake of their findings, nothing in the world is substantial. Take, for example, a table that we see before our eyes. Our eyes say that it is a table hard and real but on analysis it is made up of molecules which are again made up of atoms; the atoms in their turn are made up of electrons and protons and behold! these electrons or protons are ultimately not particles, though they appear to behave as such but are really waves of energy. Hence the substantiality that has been attributed to a table is no more true. If man had been imbued with a microcosmic vision, the table appears to be not a table but a play of energy waves in the form of electrons and protons shooting with tremendous velocities and producing the sensation of a table. Does not this finding of the nuclear scientist accord with what we are told in the verse *madhyāshnārka-marīcikāsviva payaḥpūro yadajñānutaḥ* i.e. "Verily it is through an obsession that we perceive the existence of the five elements, the earth, the waters, the fire, the wind and the ether

even as there appears an abundance of water amidst the burning rays of the Sun at noon".

2. Apart from the question of the existence of an object, with respect to its perception and cognition, there present to our senses a number of appearances, enveloping the 'real reality' of that 'apparent object'. In other words, perhaps, we are not very wrong in saying that there seem to exist different appearances of the same reality even as there will be many wrong answers for a single mathematical problem. We have seen above some kinds of those appearances.

(i) The imaginary in Mathematics (ii) the appearance of an object in a mirror as in the verse *'viśvam darpaṇa-dṛśyamāna-nagarītulyam* ...., i.e. 'The world is akin to the picture of a city seen in a mirror ....' (iii) the appearance of a table under a microcosmic vision in contradistinction to the picture produced by a human eye (iv) the appearance of water in Sun's rays adduced as an example of the appearance of a world superimposed over the 'Reality of Brahman'. To these kinds of appearances may be added more, for example, (a) the appearance of a serpent superimposed over a rope, (b) the broken appearance of a stick under water, (c) the experience of lightness of a bucket held under water, (d) the appearance of a world under a dream, (e) the experience of a lower temperature of a normal human body when touched by a man under a high fever, (f) the experience of a morose world of a man under the pangs of a bereavement in contradistinction to the experience of a happy world of a man under all prosperity etc. It will be realized immediately that there is a subtle difference existing among the various examples cited.

3. It will be interesting to quote an ancient Mathematician of India Bhaskara while commenting upon the 'Imaginary' as experienced in Mathematics. In Hindu Astronomy there are expressions known as Samashanku and Tadhriti whose mathematical expressions are:

$$\frac{RH\ \text{Sin}\,\delta}{H\ \text{Sin}\ \text{⊘}} = \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\,\delta}{\text{Sin}\ \text{⊘}} \text{ and } \frac{R\ \text{Sin}\,\delta}{\text{Sin}\ \text{⊘}\ \text{Cos}\,\delta}$$

Where H Sin stands for the Hindu tine of an angle. In a place where the diurnal path of the Sun does not cut the prime vertical,

neither of these Samashanku or Tadhriti exist; yet, behold! their mathematical expressions give us values. Bhaskara exclaims *'Tat katham idānīm idam dvayam vandhyāsutavat,* i.e. 'How is this now! both these the Samashanku and the Tadhriti (which are not there in reality when the Sun's diurnal circle does not cut the prime vertical) are like the sons of a barren lady!' Then he says *Tadapi pradarśyate,* i.e. 'it will be explained'. He does explain basing his explanation on what is called 'the principle of geometrical continuity'. He reads a meaning into the real expression of an imaginary entity which is different from reading a meaning into an imaginary expression. We shall drop the idea here, leaving it for a Mathematical treatment elsewhere.

4. In geometry we come across an interesting idea. The curve of a hyperbola has two branches extending into the infinities on either side. But according to the analysis of coordinate geometry, it is revealed that though the two branches are apparently separate and distinct, they appear to be 'continuous' in the infinities, using the word 'continuous' in a particular sense apart from the accepted mathematical sense. The mathematician who naturally shuns to be philosophical contents himself by simply saying that there is an infinite discontinuity in the curve in the infinities. Strictly speakng he is partly wrong, for, the apparent discontinuity as experienced by his eye is not borne out by his analysis which says that there is no discontinuity but on the other hand the two branches are continuity of each other and are part and parcel of the same single curve. This apparent fallacy is in fact due to the fallacial idea at the back of his mind that a plane extends to infinities on either side. He does not stop to think that such a plane as vouchsafed by the eye may not exist after all.

5. Again in elementary geometry, we come across the idea that the inverse of the centre of a circle is at infinity, the same point being situated on every side! This also belies the apparent extension of a plane.

6. In modern theory of Relativity we are told that space is limited and expanding, an idea which revolts against common sense.. They say that space is imbued with a curvature and as such recoils on itself. The same nebula which is seen in the east is also seen in the west! The three dimensional space is the surface of a four dimensional hypersphere of the real space, the interior

of which is as though knocked out. God's space is not really three dimensional as experienced by man but really four-dimensional, in which Time enters and fuses into a 'continuum' with space (and in which the electromagnetic laws also hold good) and behold! Time enters into the equations with a prefix i ie. $\sqrt{-1}$ which does not exist at all.

7. All these ideas indicate that what is magic to the man's mind must have a Divine logic so to say. The world appears to be a world, but what exactly it is in Truth, God only knows. Our consciousness might be refracted so to say as is conveyed by the words '*Parāñci khānivyatṛṇat svayambhūḥ, Tasmāt parak paśyati nāntarātman*/' i.e. the creator created our senses as essentially extrovert and as such they are incapable of being introvert.

8. All mathematical logic paralyses when the Mathematician tries to hold commerce with 'infinity' or zero. Take for example the following simple idea, when we say that $5\times3=15$, 15 contains 5 and 3 as factors. Extending the same idea, when we say $10\times0=0$ or $100\times0=0$ etc., zero contains 10 or 100 or any other number for the matter of that as a factor. Is it not therefore a fact that the apparently humble, nothinglike zero, a terribly omnipotent entity which contains in its bosom unimaginably large numbers! Similar is the case when we deal with the so-called 'infinity'. Consider the two series

$$1+2+3+4\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots = S_1 \text{ (say)}$$
$$2+4+6+\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots = S_2 \text{ (say)}$$

The first apparently contains the second, for, the second series is the sum of all even integers which are all contained in the first series. But behold! S_2 appears to be double S_1, for, every number of S_2 is double that of the corresponding number of S_1. Is there not therefore a meaning in the upanishadic word '*Aṇor Aṇīyān mahato mahīyān*' i.e. "The Brahman is at once smaller than the smallest and greater than the greatest'.

9. Again in coordinate geometry we come across a peculiar idea namely that a circle apparently situated in the finitude goes through two imaginary points in the 'infinities' known as 'circular points at infinity'. If that be so, a point is also a circle, only with a zero radius. Is it not therefore an idea that a point has also

an existence in the infinities! '*Pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni ....*' says the Veda i.e. the totality of manifestation is only a part of the real universe. Much more lies beyond, immortal in the Heavens, than what man sees around him! In the light of all that has been said, the words of the Upanishad '*Aham asmi prathamajā ṛtasya ....*' i.e., 'I am the son of immortality. I hail from the nodus of immortality. I pervade and extend beyond. I am at once immanent and transcendent' are all highly meaningful. It is 'I' that exists and everything is as though an extension of this consciousness 'I'.

MEDICAL LORE IN YASASTILAKA OF SOMADEVA SURI (10TH CENTURY A.D.)

Sidelights on Medicine, Physicians, Healthy Living and Medical Aid

BY

PROF. D. V. SUBBA REDDY

A detailed account of the cultural material in the *Yaśastilaka-campū* of Somadeva Sūri is one of the several valuable papers of Dr. V. Raghavan. It would therefore be appropriate to contribute this paper on the medical sidelights in this work, to the volume in honour of that scholar whom I had often consulted in the course of my studies in the history of Indian medicine. Somadeva Suri the author of *Yasastilaka,* is said to have been originally a pupil of Yasodeva of Gaudasamgha, in the Gaudadesa, and was probably patronised by the Bodha-Gaya Rashtrakutas, from whom, he went to Lemulavada Region.

Yasastilaka, a literary edificatory romance in Sanskrit prose and verse was composed in A.D. 959, during the reign of Rashtrakuta King, Krishna III, in the court of his feudatory, the Chalukyan Rulers, Arikesarin II and his successors, whose protege Somadeva became. The book throws a flood of light on contemporary society and on the state of Jainism and its practices.

Yasastilaka narrates the story of the legendary king Yasodhara of Ujjain, in 7 chapters and shows great erudition and linguistic attainments of the author. Keith gives a brief account of the story.

It is also not unlikely that Somadeva came into contact with Mahendrapala II of Kanauj and at his instance, composed *Nitivakyamrita,* which though more moral in tone, is based on Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and gives advice to the king to behave well and prudently, rather than with cunning.

Raghavan and Handiqui, who have made a special study of *Yasastilaka* with special reference to Indian culture, have shown how it is a valuable record of documentary value, throwing con-

siderable light on the social life of the day and also on Jainism and other religions and branches of knowledge.

I. *Encyclopediac range of knowledge displayed by the poet*

Somadeva was a great scholar, poet, versed in Religion, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, and many branches of ancient Indian culture and cites many authorities, books, authors and traditions etc., on every subject he discusses.

Yasastilaka is an encyclopediac work and a treasury of information. The poet displays a profound knowledge, not only of Jain doctrine and traditions, legends etc., but also of the contemporary theories and practice pertaining to the maintenance of health, importance of following proper rules of diet, relations with fair sex, regulation of life and physical environment, free distribution of food and medical relief etc.

The poet gives a picture of the King's palace, with Bards to welcome the king on waking up in the morning; *Kiratas* — to guard his body; ugly or deformed persons (Eunuchs, Hunchbacks, Dwarfs) to amuse and maids proficient in preparing garlands and in handling Betel or cosmetics or using flywhisks and hand lights— all to protect and cheer the Royalty.

The minister, the *Physician*, the chef and priest are mentioned together, in one of the morning verses (3.11) recited by the bards, who announce the arrival of the officials at the court.

II. *Allusions to and side-lights on some types of Physician*

While describing the qualities of an ideal Minister, as one who has no motive of sordid gain and who can exercise independent judgement, in expressing his views, even at the risk of displeasing the king, Somadeva adds a very illuminating remark on the Physicians of the Kali Age:—

"He who preaches religion according to the inclinations of his hearers, he who sets forth a project in conformity with the wishes of the king, and the *Physician who lives* by ministering to the desires of his patients, these three are the pillars of the Kali Age!"

Somadeva emphasises the importance of personal supervision of the affairs of the state by the king and compares the bad officials to the wicked Physicians.

"Kings who enjoy pleasures at will, leaving the charge of the kingdom in the hands of officials, are foolish indeed. They might as well sleep, leaving the cats in charge of the milk. The movement of the fish in the water and of birds in the sky, might sometimes be known, but the conduct of ministers, inscrutable even in palpable matters, can never be known. Just as a *Physician* exerts himself, to aggravate ailments of wealthy patients, so do the officials of a king attempt to create troubles for him. There cannot be a kingdom with the king alone, without any officials; so they have to be created as well as guarded with care." (III. 23-26).

Offering to reply truthfully, to the questions of the king about the corrupt minister Parmodara, the spy alludes to the valour of the minister, in the following sarcastic terms:

"He is brave, valiant in the presence of merchants, *Physicians,* the weak and the deformed but like an ape, maintains a discrete silence in the presence of warriors and desparadoes".

Training of Princes in Medicine

The young prince, Yasodhara, is declared to be well versed in the *Art of healing* like *Kasiraja, Divodasa,* also known as Dhanvantari, (Bk. II), who is believed to have learnt 'Ayurveda' from Bharadwaja and taught it to Sushruta and other disciples.

Somadeva refers to the Treatises on Elephant lore by many ancient sages, whose works are not available. These names occur (in Palakapya's Hasthayayur-veda) in the list of sages at the court of Romapada, king of Anga. Prince Yasodara was also proficient in elephant lore, like Romapada, who was a pupil of Palakapya, who lived near the Brahamaputra, and went into Champa.

Yashodara, was proficient in horse-lore, like a Rivata, a famous expert in Aswayurveda.

The poet's comparison of the King who is to rule a kingdom, with a gardner who looks after the garden indicates the common principles of Horticulture and Politics. (III. 107).

III. *Sajjana — The Royal Physician*

The court physician, *Sajjana* seems to have been well-read in medical literature, and admonishes the king, in a lengthy discourse on matters connected with food, drink and physical exercise.

Sound dietetics is a subject matter, connected with welfare of the king and therefore, Somadeva's discourse on the art of good Government gives an important place to the Food and Diet.

Many interesting questions on food and drinks are considered in connection with health and physical well-being of the king. These are elaborated in a large number of verses (nearly 100) attributed to the court Physician Sajjana (alias *Vaidyavidya-vilasa*) to whose advice and instruction, the king listens at meal time.

This was not enough for health. The preparation of healthy foods in an attractive manner was emphasized and practised.

The same Physician, was also a capable expert in Culinary Art, and used to give instructions in the art of producing 63 varieties of flavours by primary and secondary combinations of the usual six tastes.

IV. *Food and Health*

Sajjana, makes many profound observations on Food in relation to Health.

"Just as food is not well cooked in a vessel that is neither covered nor stirred, so a man who has neither sleep nor exercise cannot digest what he eats" (III. 322). "He who gorges himself with food gluttonously, even when he is not hungry, stirs up diseases, like waking up dormant snakes, for his own ruin" (III. 329).

Advice on foods: Rules of diet and warning against unsuitable combination of foods, timing of meals, are also given by Sajjana.

Certain kinds of food are forbidden, under given circumstances, for example, germinating paddy, and Ghee, kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days. (III. 341).

Further, bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, nor milk with salt, nor broth of pulses with radishes; fried barley powder should not be taken, when it becomes compact like curds, and all sesamum preparations are prohibited at night. (III. 342-43).

All stale food with the exception of clarified butter and liquids, food containing hair or worms, etc., should be avoided (III. 344) and one should also abstain from overeating, undereating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic foods, and eating immediately after a meal. (III. 345).

V. *Citation of Medical Authorities*

In Yasastilaka (III. 328) Somadeva cites the authority of some ancient medical writers, about the right time for taking the *principal meal of the day.* They are, Carayana, Nimi, Dhisana and Caraka. Of these, as Handiqui points out, Carayana can hardly be called a medical writer, though he is referred to by Vatsayana as the author of Kamasutra. Nimi described as King of Videha, is known, as a very ancient authority quoted by medical treatises like Caraka and Astangahrdaya and commentators like Dalhana and Kshiraswamin.

VI. *Evidences Indicating Poison and Detection of Poison*

Examination of food and detection of poison is dealt with in a number of verses, as the subject has, an important bearing on the safety of the king.

Speaking of *poison,* the *court physician,* Sajjana mentions certain phenomena indicating its presence in food. He observes that, at the sight of poison, crows and cuckoos cry in an unwanted fashion, mongooses and peacocks are overjoyed, the Kraunca bird sleeps, the cock crows in a harsh tone, the parrot vomits, and the monkey evacuates bowels, while the eyes of the Cakora bird lose colour, and the goose limps. Besides, flies do not settle on food containing poison (III. 338-9). Addressing the king, the Physician further remarks that fire crackles in contact with food mixed with poison, as it does when a quantity of salt is thrown into it (III. 340).

Regimen of Life of an Aristocrat in Different Seasons

The description of life of the king in different seasons is not only poetical but also in accordance with the tradition and customs of ancient. Hindu Culture and literature.

The regimen of the king during different seasons was also planned in accordance with the Dharma Sastras, Kama Sastras, Vaidya Sastras or the traditions and experience of the region, and the advice of the Physicians and skill and inventive genius of the architects and engineers.

Hot Summer Days

King Yasodhara passed the hour of noon in his garden— '*Madanamadavinoda*' and indulged in water sports, with his mistresses in the hall of mechanical showers (*Yantradharagriha*) which was cooler than the Himalayas (the abode of snows). There were also "water-beds" on the raised floor of pavilion, erected on islets on the surface of pools, for water-sports; streams of water gushing from the mouth of statues of wild animals or currents of water issuing from the holes of artificial lotus stalks, sprays emitted by trunks of artificial elephants. Handfulls of water were thrown up by the statues of nymphs, seated on artificially-made celestial trees. A mechanical device of decorated figure of a woman, discharged streams of unguents or sandal water, when pressed, on different parts of the body. (III. 375).*

In the summer, "the sun shines bright, the winds radiate heat, the regions of the sky are made fierce like flames, the mountains wither, the sky is ablaze, and perspiration gleams on the visage of men. The rivers dry up, the creatures are scorched. Love loses its force, and the disease of consumption prevails. A wanderer at the height of summer meets with death". (III 377).

Food in Different Season

Different kinds of food are recommended for diverse seasons. In the autumn, one should take sweet, bitter and astringent

* On these mechanical connivences, see Dr. V. Raghavan, Somadeva and King Bhoja, *J. of the Gauhati University*, III, 1952, pp. 35-38.

things, in the spring, pungent, bitter and astringent things; and in the summer, mild preparations. (III. 349).

Again, in the winter, one should take fresh food preparations of milk, pulses, sugarcane, curds, and things prepared with ghee; and oil, too, is beneficial (III. 350). In the spring, one should take food consisting chiefly of barley and wheat, and containing little ghee, and avoid heavy, cold and sweet dishes (III. 351). On hot days, one should take *sali* rice, moog soup containing ghee, lotus stalks, fresh shoots and bulbs, fried barley flour, sherbets, curds mixed with sugar and spices, coconut milk, and water or milk, with plenty of sugar. (III. 352). In the rainy season the food should be dry, light, oily and warm and preparations of old sali rice, wheat and barley should be taken (III. 353). In the autumn, the diet should consist of ghee, moog, *sali* rice, powdered wheat, preparations of milk, patolas, grapes, amalaki fruits, sugar and sweet, bulbs and leaves. (III. 354).

Poisoning Practised as an Art

When the queen Amrtamati realised that she had been detected in her excapade of the previous night, she sent an invitation to the king Yasodhara and his mother to a banquet in her palace. The king, knowing the treachery and hypocrisy of the woman, wanted to fulfil his former promise to eat in her house. Next day, Yasodhara, his mother, his son and daughter-in-law dined in the queen's house. But she had *mixed the food* served out to her husband and mother-in-law with poison which at once took effect and imperilled their lives. Physicians were sent for and inmates went about looking for medicines. Meanwhile, Amrtamati cried aloud and feigning to droop on Yasodhara's bosom, strangled him to death.

When Prince Gunadhana was installed on the throne and the King Surendradatta was about to depart to the forest as an ascetic, his queen decided to murder her husband by poisoning. The hour of dinner arrived and Nayanavali took her meal with the King. She had, however, secretly mixed poison with a *digestive pill*, and gave it to her husband at the end of the meal after the withdrawal of guards. The king, suspecting nothing, took the pill and retired to his chamber and at once showed

symptoms of poisoning. A hue and cry was raised, by the door-keeper and physicians were sent for but Nayanavali, thinking that medical consultation would not be to her advantage, cried aloud and rushed upon the king and weeping without tears, strangled him to death.

Sridatta wanted to kill his son-in-law Dhanakirti, and asked his wife to help him. She made a number of *sweet-meat balls,* black and white, mixed the later with poison and asked her daughter, Srimati, to give them to her husband to eat, while the black ones were to be given to her father. As the mother went away to the river, Srimati, by mistake, gave the good ones to her husband and the poisoned ones, to her father, the scheming Sridatta, whose death was instantaneous.

Allusions to Diseases

The poet makes interesting observations and employs figures of speech and legends, involving ailments like the following:

A moment's friend like a villain, She (the Goddess of Wealth) is the source of *fever* of inequity and corrupts the world. (II. 108)

Yasodhara makes this observation "Surely, when a man is bitten by a Snake, on one of the fingers, he cuts off that finger and not the nose (P-321).

When disgusted with life and women, Yasodhara says "The pride of wealth like birth-blindness causes an incurable paralysis of all the senses.....Erotic love, like a Villain's council, is a magic wand for raising serpents, the evils of life.

There is a graphic picture of the spy of Yasodhara appearing in the streets of Ujjain as a mad man, with his grotesque dress and glamorous retinues—His knowledge of herbs is praised by his followers. "By means of animosity—producing drugs, he can make even a mother, an enemy of her children."

The poet makes one of the characters, a maiden, refer to *Agni*—as hardly fit for marriage—as he is suffering from jaundice, reject *Varuna* because he is disabled by dropsy and debarred from gaities; and warn *Moon* that his life is in danger on account of his incurable consumption.

While a prince was going in a procession on the back of a white elephant, to the bride's quarters, he saw some sights, reminding him of some events in his former life and swooned. The trouble was thought to be due to toxic effects of betel chewed by him. The Prince, however, regained consciousness and opened his eyes after sandal water was sprinkled over him.

The ascetic boy standing, before Marudatta reflects "Preaching of religion at the very outset, to persons dominated by passions and ignorances, only gives them a severe "Head Ache".

The wicked Amrtamati was stricken with leprosy in consequence of her previous sins. Her loathsome body emitted so foul a smell that the attendants had to go about covering their noses.

Sribhuti, the learned priest, refused to return the jewels to the rightful owner, a merchant that had left on a voyage, leaving the precious jewels for safe custody with the priest. He was punished by the king for his crime. Later he was attacked by leprosy and put an end to his life by entering the flames.

Physical and Mental Hygiene in Jaina Doctirne

The Jaina ascetics carry a water pot with them and cleans any particular limb that may be soiled.

Vrata, which is the main stay of Jain faith, is based on "Mulagunas", eight in number. These constitute abstention from Wine, Meat, Honey and five kinds of flesh. The strict adherence to Jainism required avoidance of eating in houses of certain types of people and avoidance of drinking water between meals. There are also other prohibitions, such as avoidance of erotic literature, erotic acts and aphrodisiacs.

Medical Aid or service to the sick as part of Jaina Charity

Among the *"Sikshavratas"* of the Jaina tradition, the fourth is *"Dana"* which again is of four kinds. These four gifts constituted the ground work of Jaina charity.

1. Gift of food (of good quality and purity, seasonable and prepared at home—not purchased).

2. Protection (Abhaya to all living creatures).
3. Gift of medicines.
4. Gift of Religious Instructions.

But only those observing the cardinal principles of Jainism, are entitled to charity and any charity given to those attached to false doctrine or were outside the pale of Jainism, leads to evil consequence, like the feeding of serpents, with milk. If one wishes to be charitable to such people, not belonging to Jainism, they can be entertained only with residual portion of food, which can be thrown away and they should be kept at arm's length.

Among the five classes of people, who are entitled to hospitality, are included the monks, *sravakas*, those who are expert in the knowledge of astrology, incantations, omens, and other unseen things in general, as well as those *proficient in the art of healing.*

It is the duty of house-holder to remedy the ailments of monks and saints, which may be of three kinds (1) Physical ailments (2) mental worries and (3) external troubles, like rigours due to cold and winds. According to Jaina scriptures, one of the four Angas or attributes of *Samyaktva* (right faith) is *"Vatsalya"*, helping one's co-religionists in distress. Associated with Vatsalya, are some virtues to be cultivated, among which one is Vaiyavrtya (efficient service rendered to the miserable and the sick).

Worship of monks for cure

Somadeva refers to worship of a Jaina Monk for the cure of the illness caused by his wrath.

King nurses a leper

The story of king Auddayana, famous for his philanthropic action, illustrates absence of hesitation in the practice of one's religion, for example, in the exercise of piety.

In order to test Auddayana's piety, a certain god assumed the form of a religious mendicant, "a lothsome leper, with stinking and decaying limbs," and came to the king's house and asked for food. The king received the leper with open arms, and personally waited upon and treated him to a sumptuous meal. Un-

fortunately, the leper fell sick, and as he lay in a mass of vomitted food, the king raised and washed him with his own hands, wiped his body with a silken scarf, and solaced him, with soft and kind words. The God then threw off his disguise, and took his departure, after praising and honouring the king with divine presents. (Bk. VI. 9). The pious king was a *Mahatma*.

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SANSKRIT STUDIES IN MEXICO

BY

DR. RASIK VIHARI JOSHI
Mexico

Among the numerous publications and lines of work of Dr. V. Raghavan are his surveys of Sanskrit and allied Indological Studies in India and in foreign countries. The present brief description of Sanskirt studies in Mexico will therefore be appropriate in the Felicitation Volume in honour of his sixtyfirst birthday.

Professor Heramba lal Gupta, an Indian National from Assam (India) was responsible for the beginning of Sanskrit teaching in Mexico. He worked in England for several years for the freedom of India. Believing that National freedom could be achieved by any means, he became the Chief of the Secret Spy Service of Germany in the United States of America. He was arrested in U.S.A. and put to trial. During 1927-28(?) he escaped from the United States prison and crossed the Mexican frontier. Some farmers near the frontier found his body, extremely weak and sick, in a rather miserable condition and took care of him. He came to Mexico City as a very poor man and some how got an opportunity to teach Sanskrit at the National University of Mexico, where he taught for a period of seventeen years (1930-47). Essentially, Professor Gupta was an Anthropologist but it was he who, first of all, initiated and created interest in Sanskrit in this country. He remained in Mexico as a political refugee and also married a mexican lady who, after ten years of marriage, divorced him. I understand from his associates that Professor Gupta had become quite rich at the time of his death. He died at the ripe old age of seventy seven years in Mexico, leaving three hundred thousand mexican pesos in cash which were inherited by his divorced mexican wife. His ashes were, however, sent to his home town in India.

The teaching of Sanskrit at the University discontinued after the sad demise of Professor Heramba lal Gupta. Professor Lesi-

derio Lang again took it up in 1963 or so, but unfortunately he also passed away in 1968. At present at the National University, Professor Miguel Corzo Mwoody is teaching Sanskrit. He studied Sanskrit with Professor Heramba lal Gupta in 1934-38. The Sanskrit studies are now getting deep roots at the University level. I may mention that Mexican Indologists are, like other parts of the world primarily interested in the linguistic aspect of the comparative study of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and Avesta.

Apart from the National University of Mexico, Mexico is well known for its renowned 'El Colegio de Mexico.' It is the foremost Post-graduate and Research Institute of this country. An Institute of an independent University character, El Colegio de Mexico was established in 1940 and developed on the lines of research of the famous French Research Centre 'Collège de France' in Paris. El Colegio de Mexico is primarily dedicated to the investigation of higher research and to prepare Professors for the Universities of Latin America. It is highly reputed for the study of Demography, Economics and Orientology. The Centre for the Oriental studies has concentrated its interests on Asia, India, Japan, China, Middle East and Latin America.

First and Second Presidents of El Colegio de Mexico, Professors Don Daniel Cosio Villegas and Silvio Zavala were deeply interested in India and were actually responsible for the beginning of Sanskrit studies in Mexico along scientific lines. The first regular course began in 1954 with Professor Pedro Urbaño Gonzalez de la Calle in the chair. As a scholar of rare merit Professor Urbaño de la Calle covered a wide field of learning ranging from Sanskrit, Latin and Greek to Hittitte, Indo-European Linguistics and several Modern European Languages. Born and educated in Spain, he worked as Professor of Sanskrit, Latin and Greek at the University of Salamanca in Spain since 1904. He was also Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Valencia, Professor of the History of Classical Philology at the University of Barcelona and Professor of Latin at the University of Columbia. He frequently visited Paris and was in close association of the distinguished French Indologists such as Professors Sylvain Levi and Louis Renou. He published in 1956 the Spanish translation of Sylvain Levi's famous book 'La India y la Munda'. El Colegio de Mexico and also as Professor of Classical Indo-European Lang-

uages (Latin and Greek) at the National University of Mexico (1954-66). For a period of twelve years, he made his best efforts for the systematic organisation of Indological studies in Mexico. He was an elected member of the Academy of yesterday and today. He has more than eighty publications to his credit. I may mention below a few outstanding ones:

1. The Ratnāvalī of Śrīharṣa, 1934.
2. Closas y adiciones a una version castellana de los tres premeros cantos de Ṛtusaṃhāra, 1961-63,
3. Grammatical History of Latin.
4. History of Religions.
5. Syntax of Hittitte.
6. The Priyadarśikā of Śrīharṣa.

The posthumas publication of the Spanish edition of the Priyadarśikā is expected shortly.

Indeed, I should like pay my homage to Jose Vanconcelos who was certainly not a Professor of Sanskrit or Indology but the most distinguished Mexican Academician, Philosopher, Statesman, Minister of Education and a great friend and admirer of India and Indian Culture. An author of over forty important volumes, and a couple of hundred articles, Jose Vanconcelos was Minister of Education for a period of seven years (1914, 1921-27), He also served the cause of learning as Rector of the National University of Mexico (1929). His selected works have been edited in three Volumes (1936). The outstanding publication is entitled 'Estudios Indostanicos'. It deals with all the systems of Indian Philosophy in a lucid and matured style, preserving the beauty and diction of a master writer.

Professor Graciela de la Lama, the present Director of the Centre of Oriental Studies and Professor of Sanskrit and Indian History at El Colegio de Mexico and Professor of Indian History and Indian Philosophy at the National University of Mexico, studied Sanskrit with Professor Pedro Urbaño Gonzalez de la Calle in Mexico (1954-58) and subsequently at Sorbonne, the University of Paris, where she studied Vedānta and Buddhism with Professor Olivier Lacombe, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika with Melle Biardeau and comparative Latin-Greek-Sanskrit with Professor A. Minard (1960–62).

Professor de la Lama is deeply interested in Indian Philosophy with special reference to Vedānta and Nyāya. She has already established her scholarship in Advaita Vedānta by writing her thesis on 'The Gauḍapādakārikā of the Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad', National University of Mexico (1963), 'Aspects of Indian Thought' (1963), 'Notes on the thought of Gauḍapāda' (1962). At present she is preparing the critical edition of 'The Vedāntaparibhāṣā' and 'The Tarkabhāṣa of Keśava Miśra', in Spanish.

For the intrigation and satisfactory realisation of Indian Studies, El Colegio de Mexico had the benefit of the collaboration of distinguished foreign Indologists from time to time. I may mention a few eminent scholars who have been invited during past years:

1. Professor A. L. Basham, National University of Australia, Canberra, (Sanskrit and History of Ancient India, 1962 and 1964).
2. Professor Morris Johnson, University of Durham, England, (Indian History 1963).
3. Professor Jean Varenne, University of Aix-en-Province, France (Sanskrit, 1965).
4. Professor Wikander, Stiz, University of Uppasala, Succia, (Sanskrit, 1967).
5. Professor Wetle, Robert, University of California, U.S.A. (Sanskrit, Indian Religion, 1968).
6. Rasik Vihari Joshi (Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy, Delhi, India, 1969).

El Colegio de Mexico is the leader of Indological studies in Latin America. Sanskrit scholars trained in this Institute are occupying the chairs in various Universities in Latin America. Professor Miss Hilda Chin Apuy studied Sanskrit first in Mexico at El Colegio de Mexico (1963-65), then Sanskrit, Indian Art and Paleography with Professor Allchin at the University of Oxford, England, and finally with Professors Van Luesen de Luw at Amsterdam and J. Gonda at the University of Utrecht. She is now Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Costa Rica. Her main interests lie in Sanskrit Grammar, Literature, Indian Art and Inscriptions. She has translated the Grammar of Sanskrit by Professor Gonda in Spanish.

Mr. Maroñon de Peru studied Sanskrit Grammar, Sāṁkhya, and Vedānta in Mexico with Professor Graciela de la Lama and Professor Jean Varenne of France, and Professor Wikander from Sweeden. Presently he is working with Professor Leon Herrera at the University of Peru. Professor Herrera also studied Sanskrit at the German and French Universities for several years and is a specialist of Vedic studies.

The field of interest of Mr. Petricio Vega who studied Sanskrit first in Mexico and then in Holland at the University of Haya, is Sanskrit Literature in relation to Modern Indian Thought. He is now working at the University of Chile.

Now there is an incessant growing interest about India and Indology in Mexico. In 1964, at the Museo Nationale de Mexico des las Culturales, a large section on India has been introduced. I have also found out that the Bibliothèque Nathionale de Mexico contains more than four thousand rare books on Indology. This Bibliothèque has also a remarkable collection of historical records of the activities of Mexican Missionaries and it is believed that as and when thoroughly explored this manuscript material will throw fresh light on ancient Indo-Mexican relations. It is hoped that this collection will soon be made accessible to Indologists.

The present group of students studying Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy at El Colegio de Mexico has been interest in Sanskrit Grammar, Indian Philosophy (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Vedānta), Sanskrit Literature (Bhartṛhari), Linguistics and Anthropology. I am sure that in a next few years El Colegio de Mexico is bound to be a prominent centre for Indological studies in general and Sanskrit studies with special reference to Philosophy in particular.

SANSKRIT LEARNING AND LIBERALISM

BY

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It is often accepted as an axiomatic truth that Sanskrit learning and liberalism go ill together. This view of English-educated persons is expressed in the pithy saying that English education opens our eyes while Sanskrit education closes them. The truth of this dictum may be, and has been, supported by many instances of social and religious reform in India in the nineteenth century. But, for the sake of historical truth, it is necessary to remember also that there are many notable instances to the contrary. I propose to refer to a few of them from the history of Bengal.

The most remarkable instance is furnished by the history of the foundation of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that English education is the most important single factor for the remarkable transformation of India from the Medieval to the Modern Age which is popularly known as the Renaissance, and the Hindu College is entitled to the credit of being the most important institution which promoted English education and liberal ideas in every field of life such as religion, society, literature and politics, first in Bengal, and then throughout India. For a long time the idea has been current that the foundation of this all-important Hindu College was mainly due to the efforts of Raja Rammohun Roy and David Hare. The error was due to the fact that no authentic account of the foundation of the College was available, and people are guided by a natural instinct to ascribe everything good and great to a man who is known to have done many really great things and has thereby become an object of admiration to all and of devotion, bordering on implicit veneration or adoration, to many. Rammohun Roy was such a man and his followers, who had later organized themselves into a separate religious sect known as the Brāhma Samāj, and many admirers blindly regarded him as the fountain source of all

reforms including the introduction of English education through the Hindu College, that took place in Bengal in the 19th century. Yet, curiously enough, while there was a dispute and discussion about the real founder of the Hindu College ever since 1830, the choice was between Sir Hyde East and David Hare, and the name of Rammohun Roy was never heard of in this connection before 1862. Fortunately, all questions have been set at rest by the discovery of a letter, on the basis of which it is now possible to give an authentic account of the foundation of the Hindu College. I have fully discussed the question in an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta (Vol. XXI, 1955, pp. 39-51), and need not deal with it here in detail, beyond pointing out the role played by the orthodox Paṇḍits in the foundation of this premier Institution which still exists under the changed name of 'Presidency College, Calcutta'.

The letter mentioned above was written by Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, to his friend J. Harington then in London.

The following extracts from this letter will give a clear idea of the circumstances which brought the Hindu College into existence :

"About the beginning of May, a Brahmin of Calcutta, whom I knew, informed me, that many of the leading Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid towards it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. The meeting was accordingly held at my house on the *14th of May, 1816*, at which 50 and upwards of the most respectable Hindu inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pandits; when a sum of nearly half a lac of rupees was subscribed, and many more subscriptions were promised. Most of them, however, appeared to take great interest in the proceedings, and all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions.

"I first received some of the principal Hindus in a room adjoining to that where the generality were to assemble. There the

Pandits, to most of whom I was before unknown, were introduced to me. The usual mode of salutation was on this occasion departed from; instead of holding out money in his hand for me to touch (a base and degrading custom), the Chief Pandit held out both his hands closed towards me; and as I offered him my hand, thinking he wished to shake hands in our English style, he dislosed a number of small sweet-scented flowers, which he emptied into my hand, saying that those were the flowers of literature, which they were happy to present to me upon this occasion, and requested me to accept from them (adding some personal compliments). Having brought the flowers to my face, I told him that the sweet scent was an assurance to me that they would prove to be the flowers of morality, as well as of literature, to his nation, by the assistance of himself and his friends. This appeared to gratify them very much.

"Talking afterwards with several of the company, before I proceeded to open the business of the day, I found that one of them in particular, a Brahmin of good caste, and a man of wealth and influence, was mostly set against Rammohun Roy. He expressed a hope that no subscription would be received from Rammohun Roy. I asked, why not? "Because he has chosen to separate himself from us, and to attack our religion" "I do not know", I observed, "what Rammohun's religion is" (I have heard it is a kind of Unitarianism)—"not being acquainted or having had any communication with him.

"The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting (after raising a subscription to purchase a handsome piece of ground, and building a college upon part of it, to be enlarged hereafter, according to the occasion and increasing of funds), were the cultivation of the Bangalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindostanee tongue, as convenient (sic) in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals (the Pandits and some of the most sensible of the rest bore testimony to and deplored their national deficiency in morals); grammar, writing (in English as well as Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindu virtues), history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-letters, poetry, etc., etc.

"One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

"Another singularity was, that the most distinguished Pandits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed; and when they were about to depart, the head Pandit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever."

The letter of Hyde East, written only four days after the meeting was held, must be regarded as the most reliable account of its genesis and proceedings, and any later statement, differing from it, should be rejected as untrue.

The letter refers at the very beginning to a visit by a distinguished Brahmin of Calcutta. Major B. D. Basu, who for the first time brought this letter to notice, mentioned in a footnote, that this person 'of course refers to Raja Rammohun Roy'. It would be, however, obvious to any one who reads through the whole of this letter, that this suggestion is quite untenable. For Hyde East refers to this person as a Brahmin 'whom I knew', whereas in a later para of this same letter he says that 'he was not acquainted with Rammohun Roy nor had any communication with him.'

On the basis of this erroneous identification, Major B. D. Basu held that it was Rammohun Roy who conceived the idea of the Hindu College, and Sri Brajendra Nath Banerji concluded that 'Rammohun Roy was the prime mover in founding the Hindu College'. Although Sri Banerji later admitted his mistake, this view is still upheld by many. On the other hand, it seems to be quite clear that the Hindu College owed its existence to the general desire of the orthodox Hindus in Calcutta, and at least a large section of the Brāhmaṇ Paṇḍits were as eager as the rest of the Hindu community to establish an institution the purpose of which was defined in the meeting as stated above.

The new or modern spirit displayed by a section of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas may be illustrated by the life and activities of Paṇḍit Īśvar-chandra Vidyāsāgar. Born in an orthodox Brāhmaṇa family, he became the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. But he introduced the study of English along with Sanskrit in that College and encouraged students of the College to be acquainted with the advanced knowledge of the West. Besides, he was very eager to introduce education among the girls which was regarded as a taboo in Bengal in those days. The activities of Vidyāsāgar for the spread of female education in Bengal, particularly as Secretary of the Bethune School (now Bethune College) from its very foundation, are too well-known to need mention in detail. But he did not stand alone. He was supported by other orthodox Paṇḍits. Of the 21 students first admitted in this school two were daughters of a famous orthodox Paṇḍit Madanmohan Tarkālankār. Another, Gaurī-śaṅkar Bhaṭṭāchārya Tarkabāgīśa, wrote a pamphlet in support of female education and tried to remove the prejudices and superstitions against it, such as the deep-rooted idea that widowhood is the inevitable lot of a girl who knows how to read and write. The book was written in 1822 and its third edition was published in 1824.

Īśvar-chandra Vidyāsāgar also supported the remarriage of Hindu widows, and the heroic effort on his part which led to the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, is now a matter of history. What is not generally known is that the first person to marry a widow under the new Act was Śrīsh-chandra Vidyāratna, a pupil and a teacher of the Sanskrit College, and son of an orthodox Brāhman Paṇḍit. The son of Vidyāsāgar also married a widow. When Vidyāsāgar's brother tried to dissuade him, he wrote: "I have originated this movement and have arranged for the marriage of widows. So, if my son would have married a virgin and not a widow I could not show my face to the public. I am not a slave to social customs."

When there was an agitation for prohibiting polygamy by legislation, the Government appointed a Committee which included some eminent Bengali leaders and Vidyāsāgar. But Vidyāsāgar, alone among the Hindu members, supported the idea of legislation.

It is only necessary to add that in all these efforts Vidyāsāgar was supported by a section of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas. All this proves that while it is quite true that the social and educational reforms in Bengal which heralded the renaissance of the 19th century may justly be credited to the English educated Bengalis—mainly the students of the Hindu College, known as Young Bengal—we must not carry the impression that the orthodox Sanskrit Paṇḍits were all reactionaries and only impeded the progressive movements in various fields.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ARABIC LITERATURE

BY

MD. YOUSUF KOKAN, M.A., M.LITT.

Arabic is one of the important classical languages, which has influenced many a language of the world, especially Persian, Turkish and Urdu. At the time of the birth of the Prophet in 571 A.D., Arabic did not have any written or unwritten literature except poetry which was committed to memory and was handed down to posterity through memory. There were only a few who knew the art of reading and writing. Even the great poets and orators did not know how to commit their compositions to writing. There are very interesting anecdotes in the Arab history as to how the renowned poets like Mutalammis and his nephew Tarafa bin Al-Abd did not know the contents of the letters they were carrying on with them from 'Amr bin Hind, the King of Hira, to Mukabar, the governor of Bahrein and Omman. On their way they met a young boy belonging to a village in Hira, who knew the arts of reading and writing. Mutalammis opened his letter and asked the young boy to read it for him. It was written. "In Thy name, O-God! This is a letter from Amr bin Hind to Mukabar. If you receive this letter from Mutalammis, catch hold of him, cut his hands and legs and bury him alive". He immediately turned towards Tarafa and directed him to open his letter and get it read by this boy. "I think", he said, "it also contains the same kind of order.' "No," answered Tarafa, "it can not contain any such orders, because I have not shown any disrespect to the king." Mutalammis threw away the letter and retired to his village. But Tarafa proceeded to Bahrein and was put to death by Mukabar.

The revelation of the *Quran*, the holy book of Islam to the Prophet Mohammad, gave great impetus to the advancement of knowledge and learning among the Muslims. The Prophet, though himself illiterate, encouraged the young Muslims to learn the arts of reading and writing and thus record everything which comes to them through their Knowledge and learning. The Prophet once said, "Seek Knowledge even though you have to go to China to get it." He also said, "Seeking of knowledge is incumbent on

every man and woman". He also remarked that "Wisdom is a property of the faithful lost by him. He should acquire it from whatever quarter it reaches him." These clear instructions on the part of the Prophet made the Muslims not only to record the verses of the *Quran* and the traditions of the Prophet; but also made them more inquisitive of the sciences and literatures of the other nations.

Arabic though devoid of written or unwritten literature, had in itself the natural capacity of expressing the sublime and difficult thoughts and ideas with eloquence and feasibility. It was not at all in need of taking any loan words and phrases from any other languages. Its verbs, which are triliteral and quadriliteral convey various shades of meanings by augmenting one to three letters in a particular way. Alfred Gillaume has rightly pointed out:—

"A fundamental characteristic of the Semitic languages is to have only three consonants to the verb. There are exceptions to this rule in the various languages, but such exceptions are comparatively rare. It follows almost inevitably that compound words to express complex ideas are practically unknown in Arabic. Consequently it is all the more interesting and remarkable that a language which is so circumscribed should be able to cope with all the lore of Greek World and so seldom give rise to a suspicion that any strain is being put upon its resources."[1]

He further remarked:

"Arabic is fitted to express relations with more conciseness than the Aryan languages because the extraordinary flexibility of the verb and the noun. Thus the ideas break, shatter, try to break, cause to break, allow to be broken, break one another, ask some one to break, pretend to break are among many variations of the fundamental verbal theme which can or could be expressed by vowel changes and consonantal augments without the aid of the supplementary verbs and pronouns which we have to employ in English. The noun, too, has an appropriate form for many diverse things, such as the time and place of an action, bodily defects, diseases, instruments, colours and so on.

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, preface vi.

He has further elucidated these changes by an example. He writes:

'One example must suffice. Let us take the root word d.w.r. which in its simplest form means to turn and revolve (intransitives). *Dawwara* to turn a thing round, *dāwara* to walk about with some one, *adāra* to make go round and so to control, *tadawwara, istadāra* to round in shape, *dawr* turning (noun), *dawrah* one turning, *dawarān* circulation, *duwār* vertigo, *dawwār* pedlar or vagrant, *dawwārah* mariner's compass, *madār* axis, *mudārah* round water skin, *mudīr* controller."[2]

Alfred-Gillaume has given above only a few forms of the root word d.w.r. If these verbs are taken into the fourteen conjugations of past tense and the same number of conjugations of aorist, in active and passive voices, six conjugations in each of the present participle, passive participle, imperatives and prohibitive and then noun of time and place, positive, comparative and superlative, noun of instrument etc., we get a number of derivations from each root word for different shades of meanings, which could be expressed in other languages by a number of words. "None of these forms" as it has been pointed out by Alfred Gillaume, "is fortuitous but is predetermined by the structural genius of the Arabic language."[3]

Certain structural derivations were not in use for want of the required shade of meaning. When that new meaning came to be expressed later, the Arabs employed that structural derivation for the new shade of meaning. As for example, the structural derivation of *matār* (a place wherefrom something flies into the air) was not in use. Now it is being used in the meaning of an *aerodrome.*

With such a comprehensive vocabulary of Arabic language, the Arabs did not feel any difficulty in expressing new thoughts and ideas which were being introduced to them through Greek, Syrian, Pahalvi and Indian works. The Arabs had their trade relations with all these countries even before Islam. The vast conquests made during the time of the first two Caliphs Abu Bakr

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

(632-634) and Amar (634-644) brought the Arabs into contact, literary as well as cultural, with Greek and Indian sciences. It is an established fact that there were several Indians settled down in the coastal and interior places of Arabia. Through them the Arabs came to know of the fabulous wealth and jewels of India. The country was considered as a land of beautiful women, elephants and snakes. Magic also was one of the arts appreciated by the Arabs. The ethical philosophy of India attracted the attention of many people in Arabia. A few years had not passed after the death of the Prophet (632 A.D.) when young Arabs turned their attention to learn mathematics, medicine and astronomy. Prince Khalid (died 704 A.D.), son of Yazid, son of Muawiyah, the fifth Caliph in Islam, learnt alchemy from Marianos, a christian monk. He wrote three treatises, the first of which deals with his teacher and the instructions he bestowed on him. He seems to be the first author on alchemy among the Arabs. A manuscript copy of his work Diwan-un-Nujum on astronomy still exists at Ayasofiya Library at Istanbul.[4]

The vast conquests made by the five generals, namely Muhammad bin Qasim, Musa bin Nusair, Tariq bin Ziyad, Maslama bin Abdul Malik and Qutaiba bin Muslim during the reign of Walid (705-715), son of Abdul Malik (640-705) brought the Arabs into greater contact with various nations and their religions and cultures in the world. Mecca, Medina, Fustat, (Cairo) Allexandria, Damascus, Kufa, Basara, Qairawan became the great centres of literary and cultural activities. And when Baghdad became the capital in 762 A.D., it became the main centre of all such activities. Abu Jafar al Mansur (754-775), his son Mahdi (775-785) and grandsons Hadi (785-786) and Harun-al-Rasheed (786–809) and great grandson Al-Mamun (813-833), the Abbaside Caliphs, patronised the scholars irrespective of caste, creed and country. They thronged the new capital from the various parts of the world and were appointed to high posts in the royal court. An academy of sciences under the name of *Bai-ul-Hikmah* (House of Wisdom) was started by Abu Jafar al Mansur which continued to flourish during the reigns of his successors. Hundreds of important works were collected and translated into Arabic. A special market under the

4. History of Arabic Literature by Clement Huart. p. 62.

name of *suq-al-warraqin* (market of the copyists) came into existence where people were employed to copy books and supply them to those who wished to have them in their personal libraries. There were seminars where all sorts of scientific and cultural discussions were carried on. There was much talk about the ethical philosophy of India. *Panchatantara* was a book of such Indian tales which attracted the attention of the Arabs. It was first translated into Pahlavi language by Barzwaih during the reign of Anoshiravan (531-579), the emperor of Persia. Abdullah, son of Muqaffa (died 727 A.D.) translated it under the name of *Kalilah wa Dinnah* which was mainly responsible for its influence over the literatures in Europe. The well known Bermacide family also patronised several great scholars coming to Baghdad from different parts of the world. Yahya (died 805) and his eminent sons Jafar (killed 803) and Fadhl invited several scholars from India. One such great scholar was Bahla who was invited by Yahya Barmaki. He was a great physician with great skill in the art of Indian medicine. He knew the properties of each drug, plant and ingredient grown in India. Jahiz (775-868), the great Arabic author, says that once Ma'mar asked Bahla to define for him eloquence according to the Indian authors. He told him that there was a book in India which he could not translate for them as he himself was not proficient in that subject.

Bahla had a son Saleh and grandson Hasan who were also great physicians like Bahla. It is said once Saleh, son of Ibrahim, son of Mahdi, the cousin of Harun al Rasheed, the Caliph, fell ill. All the physicians lost hope of his recovery. Even the Court physician Jibrail bin Bakthishu pronounced that his days were numbered. The Caliph was much grieved at the sad fate of his young cousin. At the suggestion of his Chief Minister Jafar, the Caliph asked Saleh, son of Bahla to examine the patient and suggest some good medicine for him. He saw him and then consoled the Caliph saying that he need not worry about the recovery of his cousin. But after a few hours it was reported that Saleh expired and all arrangements were being made for his funeral. The Caliph Harun got angry with the Indian physician and began to curse the Indian medicine.

The Physician asked the permission of the Caliph to see his cousin again and report to him his opinion about this matter. He

went inside and came out and requested the Caliph to follow him. Both of them went in again. The body was meanwhile washed and camphor had been applied to it and it had been placed in the coffin. The Physician pinched a needle in the forefinger of the cousin's left hand on which he immediately withdraw it inside. The Physician immediately remarked and said how could he withdraw his hand if he was not alive? The Caliph was really surprised to note this. The physician said he could bring him back to life provided the coffin and the camphor are removed from him by giving him a second wash, so that he might not get shocked at being treated as a dead person. The coffin was removed and the body was washed and he was put in his normal dress. The physician then took a small syringe, filled it with some fluid medicine and blew it into the nostrills of the patient. After some time he sneezed and opened his eyes. The Caliph enquired of his health. The cousin told him that he was alright. He said that he saw in his dream a wild dog pouncing upon him and when he wanted to push it back by his left hand, the dog bit him in his forefinger. The Caliph was extremely happy and showered all his favours on this great Indian physician.

The Caliph's cousin Saleh lived long afterwards. He later on became the governor of Egypt and died there.

Another great Indian physician who made a name in the Arab world during the second and third centuries of Islam was Manka. It is said that once Harun was afflicted with some incurable disease. His court physicians could not relieve him of his trouble. Abu oomer al Ajami, one of his courtiers, advised him to get Manka from India. The Caliph sent an order to the governor of Sind to persuade Manka to go over to Baghdad and suggest some excellent remedy for the Caliph. He came over to Baghdad and suggested an excellent medicine which cured him completely.

Manka was a favourite physician of the Barmacide family also. Yahya and his sons consulted him only when any member of their families fell ill. It is said once Yahya felt burning sensation in his stomach. Manka told him that it was due to bile overpowered by phlegm. He then asked him to dissolve the powder of black myrobalan in the juice extracted from two pomegranates and drink it. It gave him immediate complete relief from the pain of this burning sensation.

Once Manka passed through the streets of Baghdad with an Arab friend. He saw a man having several kinds of dry drugs, plants and ingredients spread over a big cloth. He was engaged in describing minutely the properties of each drug, plant and ingredient. According to him there was no disease for which he did not have any medicine. Manka immediately remarked that if what he said was true, the Caliph should have had the knowledge of it. Why should he get him from such a distant place like India? If he is a liar then he should be punished severely. Because he might become the cause of a great danger to the lives of the people by prescribing the poisonous and wrong medicines.

It is a well known fact that the Arabs learnt numerals from the Indians and developed the science of mathematics after getting the Indian works translated into Arabic. They also developed the science of astronomy on the basis of the information they received through Indian works.

In a short article like this it is not possible to give details of the amount of contribution made by the Indian scholars to the Arabic literature in the early period of Islam. Ibn-al-Nadim (died 988 A.D.), the eminent copyist of Baghdad, had prepared an Index of Sciences under the name of *Fihrist-ul-uloom* which has fortunately escaped the destructive hand of the times. In it he has recorded the names of authors and their works which had been compiled in Arabic upto his times. We find the names of a number of Indian scholars and their works mentioned in this book. The Arabs have pronounced the name of these great scholars in their own way and hence it is extremely difficult for us to give a correct pronounciation of these names. In addition to Bahla and Manka mentioned above, the following names of the Indian scholars have been given by Ibn-al-Nadim, who were mostly mathematicians, physicians and astronomers and had several works to their credit. They are: (i) Anko, (2) Arikal, (3) Andi; he was a physician, (4) Bajhar; he wrote several works on horse-riding and sword making, (5) Bazroghoghia, (6) Bazigar, (7) Bakhar, (8) Sakka, (9) Berasin, (10) Toquishtal, he wrote a book on Indian medicine entitled "hundred remedies for hundred diseases". Another Book on defects and diseases which has been translated into Arabic under the name of *Kitab-al-Tawahhum fil Amraz i wal Ilal*, (11) Jaraka, (12) Sasruta; both of them were

great physicians. Their works were translated into Arabic at the end of the eighth century of the Christian era, (13) Jabhar, (14) Jutara, (15) Jawdar, (16) Khatif, (17) Dahir, (18) Dibak, (19) Rahat, (20) Rai, (21) Rusa, she was a female physician. She had written a book on the diseases of woman and suggested medicines for getting relief from them, (22) Sassa, he was a magician and knew the art of enchanting men and women, (23) Straneq, he had written an important book on poisons. It was first translated into Persian by Abu Hatim of Balkh with the order of Yahya Barmaki and again it was translated into Arabic by Ali bin Abbas bin Ahmad bin Jawhari during the reign of Al-Mamun. He also wrote a book on Indian medicine which was translated into Arabic under the name of Muntahal-al-Jawhar. He had to his credit one book on veterinary science. (24) Shastraj. He wrote a book on diseases and their remedies divided into ten chapters. It was translated into Arabic by the order of Yahya Bramaki, (25) Sanjal, he wrote a book on Indian medicine, which was translated into Arabic under the name of Asrar-al-Masail (secrets of Problems), (26) Kanka, he was a great mathematician and astronomer. Several of his works have been translated into Arabic under the names of Kitab-al-Numudar fil Amar, Kitab Asrar al Mawalid, Kitab al Quiranat al Kabir and Kitab-al-Qiranat al Saghir, Kitab Manazil al Qamar Kitab al Mawt, etc. Abu Mashar-Balakshi the great astronomist has praised him immensely, (27) Naquil, he wrote works on snakes and poisons, (28) Nahaq-al-Hindi, he was a great mathematician and astronomer and several of his works were translated into Arabic before the end of the ninth century.

The contents of all these books were later on incorporated into the later works on these subjects and thus the original works have disappeared from the world. It would be fruitful from the point of further research if the Sanskrit and Arabic scholars make a united effort to trace out these original Indian works which have influenced the Arabic literature in the early period of Islam.

GOLD THROUGH THE AGES

BY

B. CH. CHHABRA

Ootacamund

Gold has always had a special fascination for all. It attracts young and old, rich and poor, men and women. Its lure is not confined to the mundane alone; the holy and the spiritual are equally enchanted by it. The yellow metal has a universal appeal, everywhere and at all times. In this article we propose to recall some of the notable pranks it played on mankind in India from the earliest times as revealed by recorded history. We have nothing to do with the modern gold control, the smuggling of gold 'biscuits' or the like.

1. *Vedic and Post-vedic Periods*

Gold has been used by people both as bullion and as ornaments or coins. The proto-historic antiquities discovered from Harappan sites include various ornaments of pure gold, used by both men and women. Instances of gold bars and gold bricks are also known. It is, however, in the *Ṛgveda*, the earliest known literary work, that we come across references to some kind of gold coinage. Apart from the usage of the term *hiraṇya*, which may or may not apply to a sort of currency, we have another, *Niṣka*, which appellation decidedly refers to a gold coin. Manu defines *Niṣka* as equal to four *Suvarṇas* (*Catuḥ-sauvarṇiko Niṣkaḥ, Manu*, VIII, 137). This means that *Suvarṇa* was also a designation of a coin of gold, apart from the fact that, like *hiraṇya*, it signifies 'gold' in general as well.

A *Suvarṇa* being a quarter of a *Niṣka* in value, it was also indicated as *Pāda*, literally 'a quarter'. This reminds one of an interesting episode of King Janaka of Videha, as related in the third chapter of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, offering 1,000 kine, every one of them having 10 *Pādas* tied to each one of her horns—thus as many as 20,000 *Pādas* in all, in addition to the 1,000 kine,

as a prize to the best of the learned *Brāhmaṇas* assembled. The prize went, as stated, to the sage Yājñavalkya.

An echo of the use of *Suvarṇa* as a gold coin is found in one of the stone *yūpa* inscriptions, assigned to the 4th century A.D., of King Mūlavarman of Kutei in Borneo, Indonesia, where the royal donor has been credited with the performance of a special sacrifice, called *Bahusuvarṇaka*.[1]

2. *The Epics and the Purāṇas*

It is well known that coins both of gold and of silver were and are used as ornaments, too. It served both the purposes, decoration and preservation of wealth. We have instances of the usage of *niṣka-mālā* a necklace of *niṣkas*' as in the *Kāśikā*, VI, 2. 55. Vālmīki in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, while describing Ayodhyā, says, *inter alia*, that all the inhabitants there wore, among other ornaments, also arm-bands and *niṣkas*: *n=āpy=a-naṅgada-niṣka-dhṛk*, literally 'there was none who did not wear *aṅgadas* (arm-bands) and *niṣkas* (strung into necklaces).[2]

Some of the *Purāṇas* mention sixteen Great Gifts or *Mahādānas*, which include, like the *Bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice alluded to above, some in which *Hiraṇya* figures as a gold coin rather than as mere gold, such as *Hiraṇyagarbha, Hiraṇyakāmadhenu, Hiraṇyāśva*, and *Hiraṇyāśvaratha*.[3] An instance where the word *hiraṇya* is definitely used in the sense of a gold coin of that designation, is provided in Pāli Buddhist literature, as we shall presently see.

3. *Classical Literature*

Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto V, tells the story of Kautsa, a disciple of the great sage Varatantu. The disciple presses the preceptor to accept a fee as *guru-dakṣiṇā* after the completion of his studies. The preceptor has no desire for anything at all; but the disciple insists to give something at least. This enrages the *guru* who, in his annoyance, says to the *śiṣya*: "Well, in that

1. *Yaṣṭvā* (mistake for iṣṭvā) *Bahusuvarṇṇakam* 'having performed a *Bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice'. (See B.Ch. Chhabra's *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, p. 86).

2. The *Rāmayaṇa*, Law Journal Press, Madras edition. I. 6.11.

3. For the full list of sixteen. see Chhabra, *op.cit.*, p. 52, n. 1, quoting from the *Matsyapurāna*. chapters 273-288.

case bring me 14 crores of *vitta* (gold currency of that time), since I have taught you 14 lores—thus let there be one crore for every one of them as fee!"—*vittasya vidyā-parisaṁkhyayā me koṭīś=chaṭasro daśa ch=āhar=eti.*[4] This makes Kautsa turn to the king of the kingdom for help; for, who else could help him with such an enormous sum of money. And who was the king at that time? It was Raghu. And it so happened that he had his own difficulties for the time being, having then recently performed the *Viśvajit* sacrifice in which he had to give away all his wealth. So much so he had to use only an earthen pot even for the offering of water for welcoming the learned guest, Kautsa. At the same time, Raghu did not like to disappoint Kautsa. He then asked the latter to wait for a couple of days so that he could manage to comply with his (Kautsa's) request. In the meantime Raghu prepares for an invasion on Kubera, the Lord of Wealth, at the latter's abode on Mt. Kailasa. The god Kubera, through his divine powers, anticipates the intended invasion and causes a rain of gold coins in the treasury of Raghu—*hiraṇmayīm koṣa-gṛhasya madhye vṛṣṭiṁ*.....[5] This saves the situation. Kautsa receives much more than what his demand was. The so many crores of gold coins had to be transported on the back of hundreds of camels and mules—*ath-oṣtra-vāmī-śāta-vāhit-ārthaṁ*.....[6]

Now it stands to reason that when Varatantu asked for *vitta* in numbers and when gold fell from heaven in rain, it must be in the form of so many pieces, or say, coins, of gold and not lumps of gold. Kālidāsa does not specifically inform us of the name or denomination of the gold coins meant, he uses only common terms for riches or wealth like *vitta* and *artha* as also *hiraṇmayī vṛṣṭi*, 'rain of gold' and *bhāsura-hema-rāśi* 'heap of shining gold'. All the same these last two terms may legitimately be taken as standing for rain of gold coins' and 'heap of shining gold coins'. As for their proper designation, the use of the word *hiraṇmayī* indicates that what is meant thereby is the gold coins known as *Hiraṇyas* otherwise known as *Suvarṇas* and *Pādas*. We have already seen that a *Niṣka* of gold consisted of four *Suvarṇas*. It

4. The *Raghuvaṁśa*. V, 21.
5. *Ibid.*, v. 29.
6. *Ibid.*, v. 32.

may be pointed out that the weight of one *Niṣka* was 320 *guñjās* or *rattis*, each *Suvarṇa, Pāda* or *Hiraṇya* thus weighing 80 *rattis*. Much light is thrown on this subject even by Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in such *sūtras* as *hiraṇya-parimāṇāṁ dhane*, VI, 2, 55.[7]

4. *Buddhist Literature*

As pointed above, we have in Pāli literature a clear instance of the use of the term *hiraṇya* as referring to a gold coin of that designation. And this instance, by the way, beats all others in as-much as the number of such coins is concerned. It is not 20,000 as in the case of Janaka, nor even 140,000,000 as in the case of Kautsa, but 180,000,000, i.e., eighteen crores of gold *Hiraṇyas*! And it involves a deal, not between a king and a sage, but between a prince and a banker. What is more; this deal is backed up, as if to prove its absolute historicity, by a genuine piece of archaeology—a sculpture in stone, depicting the particular event with all essential details, with short inscriptions in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C. and the Prakrit or Pāli language. Besides, the same sculptural representation occurs, not only at one place, but at three different places, Bhārhut, Sāñchī and Bodh-Gayā, the first two in Madhya Pradesh and the last one in Bihar. The first one is the clearest, the most detailed and the earliest in date. Even from the artistic point of view, it is the nicest of all. The accompanying illustration gives a photographic reproduction of it, showing also the descriptive short inscriptions in early Brāhmī script. The original stone railing, of which the present round panel in high relief is but a part, is now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Before we describe the scene depicted, let us have the story as related in several Buddhist scriptures, each version differing in certain details. The main story runs as follows: In the town of Śrāvastī there lived a rich banker whose munificence has won him the significant title of Anāthapiṇḍika, "One who gives food to the orphans" or "one who provides the destitute with livelihood". Once he invited Lord Buddha to spend the rainy season at Śrāvastī along

7. Cf. V. S. Agrawala's *India As Known To Pāṇini*, second edition, 1963, p 261. Chapter IV, Section 9 of this work, dealing with Coinage, is full of useful information on the subject at hand.

with his retinue of monks. The Lord having consented, Anāthapiṇḍika proceeded with building a special monastery outside the town. The site selected happened to be a park or grove, belonging to Prince Jeta, son of King Prasenajit of Kosala. The Prince was money-minded and saw an opportunity of making a fortune. For the requisite piece of land he demanded the price in pure gold. In other words, the extent of land required should be covered with gold coins in currency at that time known as *Hiraṇya* or *Kārshāpaṇa*. Anāthapiṇḍika readily agreed to pay the fabulous price asked for. So great was his devotion to the Lord that no price was too high for him. He immediately ordered his treasurer to arrange to transport 180 million *Hiraṇyas* to the site. The trees were cut down and the ground was made level. Only one mango tree and three sandal trees were allowed to stand, for their utility, beauty and fragrance. Near the mango tree, a special *kuṭī* or niche, called *Kauśāmbakuṭī*, was constructed for the use of the Lord. Another niche, called *Gandha-kuṭī*, was made near the sandal trees likewise for the Lord. For the multitude of monks, who accompanied the Lord, rows of separate niches were laid out. The whole establishment went by the name of Jetavana Vihāra or Anāthapindika Ārāma. This great monastery was a pious gift of the banker.

Let us now turn to the scene depicted on the panel in question. The artist tells the same story synoptically within the limited space at his disposal, highlighting the salient features after his own imagination. In the foreground, we see the two bullocks, freshly unyoked, taking rest after the hard work, by the side of the cart with its yoke lifted up and a workman removing the last ingot of gold coins. By his side we see another workman with a lot of coins, evidently passing them on to the two workmen, further up, sitting face to face and spreading the coins on the ground edge to edge so as to make the floor thereof as required for the measurement and calculation. Still further up are seen three trees, meant to be sandal trees. The mango tree is seen in the foreground in front of the nearer of the two bulls. This tree is shown, within a square railing, with its characteristic fruits hanging down within the foliage. Between this tree and the bull just noticed is shown the banker, Anāthapiṇḍika, himself, issuing instructions and supervising

Bharhut Sculpture of Jetavana Vihara

[Photograph by the Courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India]

the work. The two *kuṭīs* or special niches are shown in their proper places. The name of the upper one, to the left of the three sandal trees, is given as *Gaṁdhakuṭī*, in Prakrit, engraved at the top, in Brāhmī letters. The sign of *anusvāra* is not distinct. The other *kuṭī* is shown, appropriately to the left of the mango tree. Its name is likewise given as *Kosabakuṭī* (Skt. *Kauśāmbakuṭī*) on the edge, only a few traces of which are visible on the photograph reproduced here. Below the *Gandhakuṭī*, the banker is shown again, after the completion of the work, so to say, holding a traditional spouted water jar in both the hands. Hereby the artist means to indicate that the construction of the monastery is completed and that it is now being ceremoniously dedicated or donated to the Lord Buddha with libation of water—*salila-dhārā-puraḥsaram*—as enjoined by the scriptures. The presence of the Lord is indicated by the flowers on the seat and by the garlands hanging behind, within each of the two *kuṭīs*. It may be observed here that at this early period the Lord was not yet represented in human form in Indian art. In the left-hand corner of the sculptured scene are shown half a dozen citizens, representing the crowd admiring the pious act of a magnanimous gift and whistling in amazement at the extra-ordinary display of wealth of solid gold!

Last but not least, we come to the line of the clear and simple inscription at the bottom of the sculptured panel, serving as a label to the scene depicted above, in addition to the two shorter ones, each giving the name of the *kuṭī* concerned, as we have already noticed. This longer line of inscription reads:

Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭi—saṁṭhatena ketā, which rendered into Sanskrit would be: *Jetavanam Anāthapiṇḍiko dadāti koṭi-saṁstareṇa kretā*. It may be translated as: "Anāthapiṇḍika donates the Jetavana, (having become its) purchaser for a layer of crores."

Being a mere descriptive label, the inscription is rather cryptic, but very appropriate and expressive. The expression *koṭī-saṁthata* of the original refers to the spreading of crores of gold coins so as to cover the extent of land purchased as the purchase price paid. The said expression echoes the original text found in Buddhaghosa's Introduction (Nidāna) to the Buddhist Jātaka: *tasmin*

samaye Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati .... Jetavanaṁ koṭī-saṁtharera aṭṭhārasa-hiraññā-koṭihi, kiṇitvā navakammaṁ paṭṭhāpesi (Skt. *tasmin samaye Anāthapiṇḍiko gṛihapatiḥ .... Jetavanaṁ koti-saṁstareṇa aṣṭādaśa-hiranya-kotibhiḥ krītvā navakarma pratyasthapāyat*), which literally means: "At that time, the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, having purchased the garden of Jeta for a layer of *koṭis*, for 18 *koṭis* (crores) of Hiraṇyas (gold coins of that denomination), consecrated the construction (of the monastery)." The word *navakarman* is a technical term, meaning the act of building or constructing a masonry structure.

The same original narrative in Pāli affords also a pointed reference to the libation jar so prominently figuring in the sculptured scene. The Lord Buddha, followed by a great company of monks and escorted by a procession of lay worshippers, entered the Jetavana Monastery, the construction of which had just then been completed. The donor, Anāthapiṇḍika, at that time approached the Lord and asked him as to how he should proceed further with the ceremony. Thereupon the Lord said: "Since you ask me, O householder!, bestow this monastery upon the Buddhist clergy, both the one existing now and the one that will follow in future." In obedience to the Lord, the banker then and there took a golden ewer and, pouring water upon the Lord Buddha's hand, made the donation with these words: "This monastery of Jetavana I give to the clergy, present and to-come, in all parts of the world, with the Lord Buddha at their head." The original of this last part reads: *seṭṭhī suvaṇṇa-bhiṁkāraṁ ādāya, Dasabalassa hatthi udakaṁ patetvā imaṁ Jetavanavihāraṁ āgatānāgatassa Buddhapamukhassa saṁghassa dammīti adāsi* (Skt. *śreshṭhī ṣuvarṇa-bhṛiṅgāram ādāya Daśabalasya haste udakaṁ pātayitvā imaṁ Jetavanavihāram āgatānāgatāya Buddhapramukhāya saṁghāya dadāmi iti adadāt*).

The artist has given due importance to the *suvarṇa-bhriṅgāra*, 'ewer of gold', as we see in the scene depicted. Besides, this throws a welcome light as to the mode of transport, dress, ornaments, etc. The type of country cart depicted is in vogue to this day almost everywhere in India, and so is the way of tying a turban, a *dhoti*, etc. Mark also the *aṅgavastram* or scarf, so common in South India. Above all, the square shape of the coins is worthy of note.

A copper *Kārṣāpaṇa* of this type is known to Indian archaeologists, the well-known specimen being the Eran coin with Brāhmī legend on it, supposed to be of the 4th century B.C. The earliest coins of India, it may be observed, were square or squarish in shape, judging from the specimens so far discovered.

5. *Archaeology*

There is no doubt an element of exaggeration in the instances cited above—20,000 in the case of Janaka, 140,000,000 in that of Raghu and 180,000,000 in that of Anāthapiṇḍika—, but it must be said that there is some truth behind. That bankers and traders in India have all along been affluent, opulent and rolling in wealth, especially hoarding the yellow metal, has been, in a large measure, testified to by archaeological discoveries, not only in India, but also in the lands and islands that came under the influence of Indian culture, more especially in the Far East and South-East Asia. Roman gold flowed into India in exchange of Indian spices, as is evidenced by occasional finds of Roman gold coins in South India. When the Romans closed their doors to India, the adventurous traders of India turned to the east, plying their country craft on high seas, there they amassed wealth again, so much so that they alluded to Burma and the adjacent parts as Suvarṇabhūmi, 'Land of Gold', and to Malay Archipelago, including the present-day Indonesia and islands beyond, as *Suvarṇadvīpa*, 'Islands of Gold'. A spacious room in the State Museum at Jakarta in West Java, filled with antique objects of pure gold-figurines of religious deities, temple utensils, ornaments and various other articles—is enough to proclaim the veracity and propriety of the appellation *Suvarṇadvīpa*.

The period coinciding with the rule of the Imperial Guptas in India is known as Golden Age in the history of India. The appropriateness of this designation is due to the fact that, culturally speaking, India reached the climax during that period—the masterpieces in art and literature were produced in that age. Yet, the Golden Age may be taken literally as well: the Golden Age in the sense that gold was in evidence in abundance everywhere. This again has, in a way, been testified to by archaeological finds. A well-known instance of this category is the Bayana hoard, con-

sisting of more than two thousand glittering Gupta gold coins. Bayana is in the Bharatpur District (former Bharatpur State) of Rajasthan. The then Bharatpur ruler, Shri Brajendra Singhji, was out ahunting on February 17, 1946, when the hoard was discovered accidentally. To quote the words of His Highness, "I had been there on a small shooting expedition and it certainly gave me the most pleasant surprise to learn that the shoot had brought about the discovery of these coins. For it was in the quest of empty cartridges that three children of the village Nagla Chhela suddenly lighted upon the edge of the pot showing through the earth."[8]

During the Gupta period, through possibly Persian influence, certain gold coins came to be known as *Dīnāra*. We have instances, recorded in some inscriptions of those times, of religious gifts of gold *Dīnāras* as *akṣaya-nīvī*, i.e. perpetual endowment, in the sense that the gifted *Dīnāras* were deposited with a local banker of repute who would pay interest on them to the religious institution in whose favour the grant was originally made. And it was the amount of interest so received that was spent for the purpose for which the grant had been made. As a concrete instance, we may quote here the Sāñchī stone inscription of the Gupta year 131 (A.D. 450-51), in which one Harisvāminī, wife of one Sanasiddha, makes a donation of that kind.

It may be of interest to quote the original text here: *Upāsaka-Sanasiddha-bharyyayā upāsikā-Harisvaminyā mātā-pitaram = uddiśya Kākanāda-boṭa-śrī-mahāvihāre chāturddiśāy = āryya-saṁghāya akshaya-nīvī dattā dīnārā dvādaśa ēshāṁ dīnārāṇāṁ yā vṛiddhir = upajāyate tayā divase divase saṁgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikshur = ekaḥ bhojayitavyaḥ*, etc. Translation: "By the *Upāsikā Harisvāminī*, the wife of the *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha, for the sake of (*her*) Parents, twelve *dināras* are given, (*as*) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great *vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa. With the interest that accrues of these *dīnāras*,

8. A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, p. i of Introduction.

day by day one *Bhikshu,* who has been introduced into the community, should be fed."[9]

The same record further informs us that the same lady donated also three *dīnāras* likewise for daily burning of three lamps in the *Ratnagṛha* in front of the image of the Lord Buddha, and one *dīnāra* for daily burning of one lamp in front of the seat on which four Buddha statues are placed.

It is for the student of economics to calculate the value of the *Dīnāra* and the prices of the commodities such as oils and eatables, prevailing in those days, with the help of the facts and figures supplied in the inscription—the sum of interest on one *Dīnāra* is enough to defray the cost of the oil sufficient to burn daily one lamp for twenty-four hours for ever, and that on twelve *Dīnāras* is adequate to buy provisions sufficient to feed daily—at least two meals a day—one monk perpetually!

Similar gifts of *Dīnāras* are found mentioned in other epigraphical records, too, some of them earlier in date than the one just noticed.[10]

The foregoing account gives us only a few sporadic examples of the role of gold in the community life in India from the earliest times. An earnest student who can make a more exhaustive study will bring forth many more interesting data.

9. John Faithfull Fleet, *Inscription of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors* (Vol. III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*), Calcutta, 1888, pages 261-62.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 38, 40, 41 and 265.

"BRAHMĀ AROSE"

BY

PROF. N. A. NIKAM

The *Muṇḍaka* Upaniṣad begins with a *narration*: "*Brahmā* arose as the first among the gods, the maker of the Universe, the protector of the world. He taught knowledge of *Brahman*, (*Brahmavidyā*), the foundation of all knowledges, to *Atharvan*, his eldest son."

"That knowledge of *Brahman*, which *Brahmā* taught to *Atharvān*, *Atharvan* in olden times told *Aṅgiras*. He (in his turn) taught it to *Satyavāha*, son of *Bhāradvāja*, and the son of *Bhāradvāja* to *Aṅgiras* — both the higher and the lower (knowledge)".

There are three significant interpretations of "Brahmā arose": (a) The passage refers to a *Tradition*, the tradition of *Brahma vidyā*. *Brahma vidyā*, which is "the foundation of all knowledges", is a knowledge that is received and communicated. What is received is verified, lived, confirmed, and again communicated, and passed on, to be again lived, verified, continued and passed on. This tradition is a *chain* of teachers and pupils in which a teacher is the last of those who have gone before him and the first of those who will come after him. The tradition rests on the condition that there is no *last* term in the series; i.e., *brahma vidyā* is a tradition that does *not* involve the notion of a "last" teacher. But it involves, *necessarily*, the notion of a "first": For, the tradition starts at the point where it was first *received*, and so it is appropriate for the Upaniṣad to refer to a "first", *a "first"* who *"arises"*. But the "arising" is not a cause but a *spontaneous* birth.

Now, the notion of an "infinite" series is logically the notion of a series that has no beginning or end. But the notion of an infinite series may be distinguished into: (i) the notion of a series that has *no beginning* but has an end; and (ii) a series that has a beginning but *no end*. *Brahma vidyā* belongs to the second. If

that which has no beginning is to have an end, then that which has no end has to have a beginning. This is *brahma-vidyā*. It is a tradition which has no end but which "arises". And he from whom the tradition arises also "arises". The meaning of "arising" in this context is *not* the meaning of that which perishes *as* it arises.

(b) The statement 'Brahmā arose' is like the statement the 'Sun arises'. The word 'arises' is a metaphor. It is a statement about what *never* arises at all. The statement 'the sun arises' is really a statement about the revolutions of the earth. It is a statement about its *change*. The arising of *Brahmā* is *narrated* in the Upaṇisad as if it were a cosmological *event*, whereas it may refer to and mean a *change* in man's consciousness: the "arising" in him of a new consciousness, when man *awakens*, when the "I" in him perishes or lives only as an instrument of what "arose" in him. (For, a Prophet says nothing of his own, but everything which he says is strange and prompted by some one else). The arising of *Brahmā* as an 'objective certainty' is of no significance to man without the "arising" in him of a new consciousness. What man can be certain about and bear witness to is the *certainty* only of "subjective truth". There can be "subjective truth" amidst "objective uncertainty".

(c) The statement "*Brahmā* arose" is an *ostensive* statement. It is a *narrative* sentence which is in the *past* tense. It reads like the *report* of an observer who reports what he had observed. If so, who is the Observer or the Witness to the "arising" of *Brahmā*? Now, he, whoever he is, cannot also "arise". The Witness is not one who "arises" but one who *is*. He is prior to the arising of *Brahmā*. He is a Witness whose awareness could never have ceased to be.

Now, the main teaching of the Upaniṣads is to affirm the reality of an awareness that had never ceased to be and never ceases to be. The Upaniṣads say that this awareness is not only behind the manifested universe but is in Man. It is described as being "awake in those who are deep asleep", *eṣa supteṣu jāgarti.*

The Upaniṣad says that *Brahmā* arose as the *first* among the gods, and taught *Brahma-vidyās* i.e. *Brahma-vidyā* came into being

after the "arising" of *Brahmā*. If so, through what *vidyā* do we know the "arising" of *Brahmā* except through *Brahma-vidyā*? Therefore *Brahma-vidyā was*: It was prior to the "arising" of *Brahmā*. *Brahma-vidyā* does not "arise" like our knowledge of the external world, which as Kant said, *arises* from sense-experience. *Brahma-vidyā was*. The Observer or Witness to the arising of *Brahmā was*. The "was" is used in both cases in a *timeless sense*: i.e., "what had never ceased to be". Therefore what had never ceased to be, never ceases to be. Therefore, although we speak of what "arose" we really speak of what *was*: *i.e.*, "what never was not".

So, in speaking of what "arose" we speak *indirectly* of what *never* arises or what *was* in a timeless sense. This distinction is reached through dialectical Reason. And the distinction which dialectical Reason discovers is also Revelation: "God the Father, who eternally exists, and God the Son who is eternally begotten", (Saint Hilary of Poitiers). So the distinction is necessary: Between (a) *Brahmā* who arose or arises, and (b) a *Witness* to the arising of *Brahmā* who never arises but *is*.

But the Upaniṣad does not speak *directly* of the Witness to the "arising" of Brahmā, who eternally *is*. It speaks *indirectly* of the Witness by speaking *directly* of *Brahmā* who "arises". For, how do we know the "arising" of *Brahmā* except through the Witness who never arises but *is*. The apparent subject matter of the Upaniṣad is *Brahmā* who "arises" but its real subject matter is that which never arises but eternally *is*. *Brahma-vidyā* is thus "Lower" and "Higher" knowledge.

The notion or belief of *uncaused* or "Virgin" birth which the "arising" of *Brahmā* implies is involved in Mythology and Religion. It denotes not being merely but the "emerging" Power of Being, '*sambabhūva*'. It is not mere Becoming. The Greeks called the emerging Power of Being *Physis*. It is by this Power of Being that Nature renews itself, "gods" "arise", and Life triumphs over Death. Therefore, salutations to "Self-born Brahmā".

PART C

ON DR. RAGHAVAN AND SOME OF HIS WORKS

RAGHAVAN — THE POET

I — *His Muttusvāmi Dīkṣita Carita Mahākāvya*

BY

SANGITAKALANIDHI T. L. VENKATARAMA AIYAR

In the world of Sanskrit learning Dr. V. Raghavan occupies an honoured place. His knowledge of the vast treasures in Sanskrit is as intensive as it is extensive and he has for years held, with distinction, the Sanskrit chair of the Madras University. His writings have earned universal recognition and appreciation for great scholarship and deep research. He has also been the driving force behind many institutions devoted to the cause of culture in general and of Sanskrit in particular. He has been, besides, one of the intellectuals who have built up the Madras Music Academy as can be seen from the *Journal of the Music Academy* and the reports of the proceedings of its Annual Conferences. All this is well known to the public and does not call for elaborate mention. What is not so well-known, as it deserves to be, is that he is also a writer of Sanskrit poems and plays and it is sufficient to say of their merits that the illustrious head of the Kāñcī Sankaracharya Math has conferred on him the title of *Kavi Kokila*. Particular mention must in this connection be made of a long poem which he has written on the life and work of one of the greatest Saint-Composers of South India, Sri Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar. It is a *Mahākāvya* consisting of several cantos, cast in a variety of metres (*Vṛttas*) and conforming to the requirements of a *Mahākāvya* as exemplified by the great classical poets and as laid down in the *Alaṁkāra* works. A brief resume of this *Mahākāvya* will show how worthy he is of the title of *Kavi Kokila*.

The poem begins with a description of what may be said to form the background of the biography of the great Composer. The opening stanzas are in praise of sage *Agastya*, who is the patron-sage of the *South*. The stanzas are well worth quoting, as they

furnish a good illustration of the easy style and flow which characterise the poem:

Apām prasādam ca dhiyām prasādam tanvan tanuś cāpya-
tanurmahimnā /
āste hi maitrāvaruṇir maharṣir avāg-udag-Bhārata-samhitā-
dṛk //
kumbhād abhūd vāridhim ācacāma vindhyādrim uttangha-
yati sma vṛddham /
nigīrya rakṣo'jarayat svakukṣyām ityadbhuto yatra rasaḥ
prakarṣī //

They may be freely translated thus: "Marvellous are the deeds of the great sage Maitrāvaruṇi. At his sight, the water becomes clear, and so does the mind. He is small in stature but high in his powers. Born of a pitcher, he drank the ocean dry. He humbled the expanding Vindhyas, and consumed the Rākshasa, Vātāpi. His vision was of a Bharat with the north and south unified." It may be mentioned that the reputed author of the most ancient basic treatise on Grammar in Tamil is sage Agastya.

The next two stanzas are devoted to river *Kāveri*, which is described as "the silver anklet at the feet of Mother India", and as sacred as the Ganges. Called in Tamil the golden river, *Ponni*, it "enriches the soil with juicy crops and the natives of that soil with superior qualities of intellect and speech."

puṣṇanti bhūmau kalamān rasāḍhyān
nṛṇām matau vāci guṇān udagrān /

Then comes *Tanjore* noted for its magnificent temple wherein there is a colossal image of Lord Śiva under the name of *Bṛhadīśa*. That suggests to the poet the well-known Vedic passage:

"The Lord is smaller than the atom and bigger than the biggest."

aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān

Adopting this idea, the poet writes:

Yathāśruto'ham mahato mahīyān
Tañjāpure paśyata mām itīva /
Yām āvasatyāgamayonirīśaḥ
Yathārthanamā Bṛhadīśadevaḥ //

Then there is Tiruvārūr, the birth place of Muttusvāmi Dikṣitar. Tradition has it that to be born at Tiruvārūr is to attain liberation from future births, or in the words of the poet:

Janmaiva janmāntara-rodhi yatra

There Lord Śiva is worshipped with the name of *Tyāgarāja* and that name reminds the poet of the Vedic passage:

Na karmaṇā na prajayā dhanena
Tyāgenaike amṛtatvam ānaśuḥ

"The road to immortality lies not through *karma* or progeny or wealth but *Tyāga.*" And he weaves this idea in the following verse:

Na karmaṇā na prajayā dhanena
Tyāgena ke'pyānaśire'mṛtatvam /

Ityāgamārthodbalanāya yatra
Tyāgābhidhānena vibhur vibhāti //

"The Lord has assumed here the name Tyāgarāja to enforce the Sastraic truth that it is not *Karma* or progeny or wealth that leads to salvation but *Tyāga.*" Then follows a description of other shrines which abound in this temple, and of the expansive sacred tank attached to it called the *Kamalālayam.* Attention is then devoted to the association of Tiruvārūr with the art of music from very ancient times.

With this background, the author takes up the life of Muttusvāmi Dikṣitar. His ancestry is then related. His father Rāmasvāmi Dikṣitar was himself a musician of great repute, and enjoyed the patronage of Kings and of nobles. He was besides a composer of several Kṛtis of no mean merit, *Varṇas, Kīrtanas, Darus* and a famous *Rāga-Tāla-mālikā* set to 108 different rāgas and tālas. He was for a long time childless and went to the famous temple at *Vaidyeśvarankoil,* and prayed before Goddess Bālāmbikā for progeny. Within about a year thereafter, Dikṣitar was born and he was regarded as the boon of *Devī.* At that time, the annual *Vasantotsava* in the Tyāgarāja Temple was going on, and it was being celebraterd with the idol of Tyāgarāja brought out with the

special dance associated with him called after the *Ajapā* or *Hamsa Mantra*. This is how the poet puts it:

Mahītala-sparśa-nimeṣa evatac-
chiśoḥ supuṇyasya papāta karṇayoḥ /
Sa hamsanādadhvaniṛīśvarālayāt
samujjihānaḥ paramopadeśavat //

"When the babe saw the light of day, the strains of the *Ajapā-Hamsa-Nāṭya* fell on his ears, imparting to him, as it were, *mantric* initiation in the knowledge of the Eternal."

The early life of Dīkṣitar is then related, how he became proficient in the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras* and acquired mastery of both Sanskrit and music, how Rāmasvāmi Dīkṣitar, his father, shifted to Manali near Madras with members of his family and lived under the patronage of Muttukrishna Mudaliar, how Cidambaranātha Yogin visited them at that place, and how the Sannyāsin took Dīkṣitar with him in his tour to Benares. In this connection, the holy places of the North are described by the author. *Kasi* is described by him as the heart of India:

Ayam hi vatsākhilabhāratasya
mataḥ pradeśo hṛdayāyamānaḥ /

Of Goddess Annapūrṇā the poet writes that She feeds her devotees with food of knowledge:

Ihānnapūrṇā jananī prajānām
annam param jñānamayam dadāti /

Apart from describing the great influence which the life at Kasi under the tutelage of Cidambaranātha Yogin had in shaping the mind of Dīkṣitar, the poem notes that during this period Dīkṣitar acquired a mastery of Hindusthani music and in particular of the Dharupad style. It is to this that we must ascribe the richness and fidelity with which Dīkṣitar depicted Hindusthani Rāgas such as Hamīr Kalyāṇī, Iman, Brindāvana Sāraṅga and the like, and to his predilection for the Vilamba Kāla (slow tempo) style.

On his return from Benares, Dīkṣitar visited Tiruttaṇi, and there, it is said, he had a vision of Lord Subrahmaṇya. That was the occasion for his bursting into music in praise of the Lord. The famous piece in *Ānandabhairavī, Mānasa Guruguha,* is one of the

songs that he sang on that occasion. It is one of the distinguishing features of Dr. Raghavan's poem that it mentions the occasions on which particular songs of Dīkṣitar were composed, and it is to be further noted that the poem speaks as nearly as possible in the language of Dīkṣitar's compositions, adapting or embodying the more striking passages of the songs. For example, the following is the stanza relating to the *Ānandabhairavī* song:

Guhasya rūpam bhaja mānasānagham
tyajoru-māyā-maya-tāpamātmanaḥ /

Satīdṛśe janmani mānave sukham
vraja vyapetātiśayam parātmani //

To continue the narration, Dīkṣitar then went to Kāñcī, and learnt Vedānta under Upaniṣad Brahmaendra. After visiting Kālahasti, Tirupati, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Chidambaram and Māyūram, he returned to Tiruvārūr and lived there. His life may be summed up as one continuous pilgrimage from Temple to Temple, dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Devī, Gaṇeśa, Kumāra, all over South India, and singing the praise of the Deities. In this respect, he followed in the footsteps of Nāyanmārs and Ālvārs of old, and that is well brought out by Dr. Raghavan in the following verses:

Tyāgeśa–sannidhāne Sundara–Sambandha–Vākpati-prabhṛtīn /
Devāra–sampradāya–pravartakān vīkṣamāṇasya //

Kṣetram kṣetram gatvā devo divyena gīta–yogena /
Sevyo mayāpi bhaktyetyāsa manastasya bālyataḥ prabhṛti //

Āvār-Nāyammār–iti ye'bhūvan gāyakā bhaktāḥ /
Tad–vara–mārgānusṛtāvutkaṇṭhā tasya sudṛḍhamevāsīt //

Mention might now be made of some of the incidents in the life of Dīkṣitar, which are described in the poem. Dīkṣitar was never in affluent circumstances, and had often to struggle hard to keep the wolf away from his doors. On one of those occasions, he was told that he might solve the problem by singing the praise of the King, who was well-known for his love of music and munificence. He stoutly declined to do so, observing that he would sing only the praise of God, who could confer upon him eternal bliss and not that of small men. It was on this occasion that he sang his well-known *Kṛti* in *Rāga Lalitā* beginning with the words

"Hiraṇmayīm Lakṣmīm". Dr. Raghavan has the following verses with reference to this incident:

Lakṣmīm hiraṇmayamayīm aniśam bhajāmi
hīnam ca mānavajanāśrayaṇam tyajāmi /

Nityam bhajāmi hariṇīm dhṛtapadmamālām
Śrī-mātaram sthiratarām śriyam āvahantīm //

Śrī-sūkta-bhāva-pada-garbhitam evam ambām
kṣīrābdhijām Haribhujāntara-rājamānām /

Cintāmaṇim śritajanasya, kalāvinodām
prāsādayan Makhivaro nija-bhakti-gītyā //

These verses again illustrate what I have already stated that the poet inlays his verses with sparkling gems of expressions culled out of the very songs of the great composer.

There was another occasion when Dīkṣitar was reduced to straits, when his lady pupil Kamalam offered to replenish the empty kitchen in her teacher's house at her own expense. Dīkṣitar told her that he would accept no help from any person, much less from a pupil and that he would await the will of Lord Tyāgarāja, and poured out his heart in a piece in *Yerukala Kāmbhoji*, beginning with the words. "Tyāgarājam bhaja re re citta". The story goes that after Dīkṣitar finished his song, one of the local magnates who had collected provisions for a high-ranking Government Official, who had planned to visit the place on that date, diverted them for the use of Dīkṣitar, as the Officer's visit was abandoned at the last moment.

This may be said to be not a miracle but rather a chance coincidence. But the same cannot be said of what is stated to have taken place at the Śiva temple at Kīvalūr. Dīkṣitar had gone there to worship the deity, but by the time he went there, midday worship was just over, and the *Arcaka* closed the doors of the sanctum sanctorum in spite of the entreaties of Dīkṣitar to keep them open for his *darśan*. Then Dīkṣitar sat down and sang the well-known piece in Śaṅkarābharaṇam, "Akṣayaliṅga vibho", when, it is said, the doors of the sanctum sanctorum themselves opened giving *darśan* of the Lord. This is how the poet puts it:

Gāyati bhakte tasmin ojasvinyatha Dakṣaśikṣaṇetyādi /
Vyaghaṭata citram kila sa svayamevābaddha-sannidhi-
kavāṭaḥ //

The news spread fast in the village and a crowd collected in the temple:

Adbhutavārtā ceyam sadyaḥ prasasāra sarvato grāme /
Janasambādhaśca mahān na cirāt tatrālaye jātaḥ //

The stiff-necked *Arcaka* became stunned, and fell at the feet of Dīkṣitar and asked for forgiveness:

Arcaka etya "mahāntaḥ kṣantum mantum mamārhanti /
Iti Muddu-dīkṣtendoḥ nyapatat pātiya-hāriṇi padābje //

Dīkṣitar was high-souled and knew neither sorrow when slighted nor joy when honoured. His mind was in communion with God.

Whenever Dīkṣitar visited a shrine and sang in praise of the Deity, he embodied in the *Kīrtana* the traditions that had grown around that shrine, and therefore, to understand his pieces, a knowledge of those traditions is necessary. Dr. Raghavan has taken considerable pains to expound these traditions, and his poem is a rich store-house of the religious traditions of South Indian Temples. To give an illustration, there is in the *prākāram* of the temple at Tiruvārūr a shrine dedicated to *Acaleśvara*. The tradition is that with a view to bless a king named Camatkāra, Lord Śiva assumed a form of abiding radiance, *Tejas*, and that accordingly even the lamp in the inner shrine would cast no shadow on the image. Dīkṣitar has a song in Rāga Bhūpāla in praise of Acaleśvara beginning with the words "*Sadācaleśvaram*" and in the *caraṇam*, Dīkṣitar refers to the tradition in the following passages:

Camatkārabhūpāla-prasādakaraṇa-nipuṇa-mahāliṅgam /
Chāyārahita-dīpaprakāśa-garbhagṛha-madhyaraṅgam //

In the present poem, this is how this idea is put:

Purā camatkāra-nṛpa-prasāda-vyājena tejo'calam ātmabimbe /
Bibhratsadā yatra yathārthanāmā jyotirmayo
bhātyacaleśvarākhyaḥ //

The next stanza gives another anecdote well-known in Tamil Śaivite annals with special reference to Acaleśvara's shrine and runs thus in Dr. Raghavan's poem:

Yat-sannidhau Jaina-nirākṛtena
bhaktena ca svīya-taḍāga-toyaiḥ /
Adīpi dīpo nigamaśca yo'sā-
vagner apāmāyatanatvamāha //

The tradition referred to in this verse is that when a *bhakta* (Nāyanār) poured into the lamp not oil but the waters from the Kamalālaya tank in front of the temple which he himself had dug, the light began to burn. Dr. Raghavan presses into service here the Vedic passage that water is the abode of fire or light:

Yo'gner āyatanam veda / āyatanavān bhavati /
Āpo vā agner āyatanam //

With this I must conclude. The poem is a long one, running to about twenty cantos.

The poem is unique in several respects. Apart from its poetic merits, it incorporates many facts in the history of South Indian music which the poet has himself unearthed in the course of his research, and it is invaluable as a repository of the traditions and culture of South India at their best. Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar was a Saint whose life-history is an exemplification of the truth enunciated by Sage Yājñavalkya in the following verse:

Vīnāvādana-tattvajñaḥ śruti-śāṭi-viśāradaḥ /
Tālajñaścāprayāsena mokṣa-mārgam niyacchati //

And the poet has narrated his life with great devotion and with striking effect.

Tiruvārūr is one of the sacred places of South India; and it has a rich heritage of religion and music. Among the great men it has produced Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar occupies a unique place, as a great Sanskrit scholar, saint and philosopher and above all as a composer of classical music of the highest aesthetic excellence. It is but appropriate that Dr. V. Raghavan who hails from Tiruvārūr should have taken upon himself to immortalise Dīkṣitar's life and achievement in a Mahākāvya. And for this task, none is better suited than Dr. V. Raghavan who commands knowledge alike of Sanskrit and of music. The poem is still in manuscript and it is the sacred duty of Rasikas and of public institutions to see to its speedy publication.

II. — *His Other Poems*

BY

DR. SATYA VRAT

One of the most prolific and gifted writers of the contemporary period Dr. Raghavan has written almost on all branches of literature. A brilliant scholar, an incisive critic and an original thinker, he is no less a creative writer. His poems have won him the title of *Kavi-kokila*. His prose has earned for him a rare distinction. His plays have endeared him to one and all. It is the combination in him of the scholar and the creative writer, of the thinker and the poet that marks him out as one of the most remarkable personalities of the twentieth century.

Dr. Raghavan's Kāvya literature consists of one Mahākāvya and several Khaṇḍa-Kāvyas. The Mahākāvya deals in several cantos with one of the three great composers of Carnatic music, Muttuswamidiksita. Written in classical style, in a variety of metres, it gives the complete life-story of the composer and has already been reviewed in detail.

Of the Khaṇḍa-Kāvyas or short poems, Dr. Raghavan has written quite a large number but only a few of them have been published so far. Besides he has translated four poems from other languages into Sanskrit.[1] All of these, except one, have been published in the various issues of the Sahitya Akademi Sanskrit periodical, the *Samskrita Pratibhā*, edited by Dr. Raghavan himself.

I would like to begin my detailed notice of the published shorter poems of Dr. Raghavan with *Kiṁ Priyaṁ Kālidāsasya* which formed part of a symposium of poetic homages paid to the

1. All these have been noticed in a detailed note in Hindi on Dr. Raghavan's Contribution in the Field of Translation (*Anuvada kī diśā men Dr. Raghavan kā Yogadāna*) published in the 'Anuvāda', Delhi, Vol. 19-20. July, 1969.

Poet on the Kalidasa Day of the Madras Samskrita Academy and brought out under the title "Kalidasa Pratibhā", in 1955 by the Samskrita Academy, Madras. In its twenty verses the poem describes, as the very title signifies, as to what is dear to Kālidāsa, a question which should endear itself to all connoisseurs of Sanskrit literature. The probe into the mind of Kālidāsa is not easy. He is endowed with unfathomable wisdom (*Pratibhā*), is gifted with superior vision which requires equally superior vision to follow it. Dr. Raghavan clearly mentions in the last verse of his poem that he has desired to follow the *Pratibhā* of Kalidasa which soars even higher than the path of the sky which he is traversing:

gachann ākāśayānena tato 'pyuparicāriṇīm /
anvetum aicchat pratibhāṁ Kālidāsasya Rāghavaḥ //[1a]

And in this effort he has succeeded most eminently. Riding on the wings of poesy he has allowed himself to soar high and follow the *Pratibhā* of Kalidasa which soars still higher. A poet of his eminence could only have done that.

Some fascinating incidents and motifs from Kālidāsa's dramas and poems are brought together and weave into a charming pattern, beginning with things of beauty in nature and culminating in the sublime divine beauty of *Śiva-Ardhanārīśvaṛa*. The poem begins with the *Puṁskokila* introducing itself to Kālidāsa, calling itself his beloved with a throat soft on account of having bites of the tender sprouts of the mango tree and thereby trying to compose in its notes the exciting poetic words of Kālidāsa. Kālidasa has a dig at Pumskokila: "Is the mango tree to be enjoyed for its tender sprouts only?" asks he. The Puṁskokila has probably no reply to this. He tells him the creeper Vanakaumudi (Vanajyotsnā of Abhijñānaśakuntala) clung to its trunk has flowered just now. Kālidāsa then asks Śakuntalā to get ready with arrangements for their (Vanajyotsnā's and mango tree's) marriage till he returns. He also asks Mālavikā to kick gently the Aśoka tree so that it may flower. Śakuntalā does not quite follow as to why the poet delays the union of the two (Vanajyotsnā and the mango tree). Malavika too does not see the point. May be

1a. Composed by him on the Plane in one of his Delhi-Madras flights.

the two unite after some time, but why then is the poet making them suffer the pangs of separation? The poet explains to Śakuntalā and Mālavikā that without suffering no union is lasting. Their non-union therefore for sometime would do them ultimate good. The fire of separation would purify their mind. Kālidāsa tells Śakuntalā and Mālavikā that they were not as dear to him at first sight as they became later when their mind was purged of impurities on account of the fire of separation.

As he is saying this, the poet feels the pull at the edge of his garment and turns and sees a fawn (Dīrghapanga from *Śakuntalā*). He asks it to help itself with a handful of wild rice (Śyāmākamuṣṭi) till he would bring for it *Ingudi*-oil and water in a lotus leaf.. As he moves to the other side of the forest, he spots a young lad (Sarvadamanat Bharata). As he picks him up he finds himself carried on a horse by another lad who tells him that he is Raghu and has brought him to watch the battle between him and Indra who has caused obstruction to the sacrifice being performed by his father. At the instance of Raghu who wants him to take up position on a cloud (*Meghadūta*) for watching the battle the poet passes on to the cloud who agrees to carry him to the city of Alakā. Seated on it he asks the cloud to leave him in the precincts of the Gandhamādana forest so that he may be able to have a look at the Primeval Parents (Ādipitarau).

The remarkable thing about this poem is that Kālidāsa is the principal character and is brought directly together with some of the most charming characters in his plays and poems which he has created; through them, he opens out his heart. By showing the poet in direct communion with them Dr. Raghavan has underlined the mental process of the creative artist.

In this poem Śakuntalā and Mālavikā are not in communion with Duṣyanta and Agnimitra; they are in communion with Kālidāsa. The fawn tucks at the edge of the garment not of Śakuntalā but of Kālidāsa; it shows the injured foot not to Śakuntalā but to Kālidāsa, the *Ingudi*-oil is applied to it not by Śakuntalā but by Kālidāsa. It is Kālidāsa again who spots Sarvadamana picks him up. It is Kālidāsa whom Raghu invites to see his battle with Indra. It is Kālidāsa who mounts the cloud to witness the battle and it is Kālidāsa who enters into a dialogue

with it (the cloud) and asks it to leave him in the precincts of the *Gandhamādana* forest so that he could have the privilege of seeing with his own eyes the Primeval Parents (Ādipitarau). The poet has the longing to turn into the form of a creeper in the *Kumāravana* (of *Vikramorvaśīya*) so that he may experience the pressing by the feet of Lord Śiva moving about which may lead ultimately to the removal of all his bondage:

āḥ Kumāravanam etad āśritaḥ
syāṁ bhuvīha latikātmanā kvacit /
syāt tathātra viharacchivāṅghriṇā
mardanaṁ sakalabandhamardanam //

Or that he may search for the *Saṅgamanīya-maṇi* (of *Vikramorvasīya*) so that by its grace he may be united with the Lord of beings:

Saṅgamanīyaṁ maṇivaram
athavā vicinomi kānane 'traiva /
yasya prasādato 'haṁ
yujye nāthena bhūtanāthenā //

The poet's longing is fulfilled. He finds the supreme light appearing before him:

aho aho namo mahyaṁ yad udeti puro mama/
somāskandaṁ paraṁ jyotiḥ vāgartharasasaubhagam//

The poem has a poser : 'Kiṁ priyaṁ Kālidāsasya?' The last verses give the reply. The union with the Lord is what is *priya* to Kālidāsa (*yujye nāthena bhūtanāthena*). All his thinking is oriented to that end. That is the summum bonum of his life, as he declares in the *Bharatavākya* of the *Śākuntala*. Dr. Raghavan has, with his own poetic vision seen through the panorama of incidents and characters of the great poet and present through a sequence the unfoldment of his poetic-cum-spiritual heart.

The entire poem is characterized by originality and freshness and is unparalleled.

The next piece of Dr. Raghavan which I would like to deal with is *Śliṣṭaprakīrṇakam*,[2] a collection of eight miscellaneous verses

2. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. II, No. 1, April, 1960.

each characterized by the figure of speech *śleṣa* (*double entendre*). The words here are so employed as to yield different meanings with different things. But this employment is very natural, a quality to be highly appreciated in such compositions. In the example quoted below the poet compares the wicked, the *pāpas*, with the bows, the *cāpas* (the alliteration here is itself suggestive of the similarity). The two key words here are *guṇa* and *vakra*, the former particularly, for this is precisely the word with a distinctly different meaning (in the case of the two, the *pāpas* and the *cāpas*), while *vakra* meaning crooked is applicable in the same sense to both. In one case *guṇa* means quality while in other it means bow-string. The verse in question reads:

guṇe datte 'pi ye bhūyo vakratām eva bibhrati/
cāpāḥ pāpāś ca te sṛṣṭā marmabhedāya kevalam//

"The wicked, even when good qualities are displayed by others towards them, are prone to crookedness. They have been created for piercing the vitals only like the bows getting more curved when stretched with a string."

In a short descriptive poem of twelve verses titled *Saṅkrānti-mahaḥ*,[3] he describes the festival of Makarasaṅkrānti or Pongal as it is called in South India. The festival marks the end of winter and the beginning of summer. The poet here describes the rise of the Sun. He fancies that it (the Sun) has arisen to uplift, out of compassion, with its thousands of rays (hands), the world immersed in the darkness of the clouds, in the deluge of water, storms, mud, biting cold and snow:

meghāndhakārasalilapralayapravāta-
paṅkoruśītahimamagnajagad dayātaḥ/
uddhartum udyatasahasrakarair udeti
yaḥ sūrya ut samam ulūlubhir arcatainam//

The worship of the Sun forms an important part of the ceremony:

dvijātaya upāsate makarasaṅkrame bhāskaram

The author enlivens the picture of the festival with the little children who, the moment the pūjā was over, rush up for their

3. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. III, No. 2, October, 1961.

share of the sugarcane, even though a variety of dishes prepared for the occasion is waiting:

pūjāvasāṇaṁ pratipālayantaḥ
tattatsamṛddhānnarase 'py anutkāḥ/
parāpatantīha gṛheṣu bālāḥ
svasvekṣukhaṇḍapravibhāgahetoḥ//

The housewives are elated at the overflow of rice in their new utensils with turmeric plant round their necks, placed on the oven.

cullyāṁ haridrāpariveṣṭiteṣu
nūtneṣu bhāṇḍeṣu nijaudanasya/
dṛṣṭvā parīvāham imā gṛhiṇyaḥ
hṛṣyanti lakṣmīr bhavitādhiketi//

The very next day after the Makarasaṅkrānti or Pongal the cows are worshipped and are taken out in a procession. The poet gives a picturesque description of the whole thing in the following words:

kṛtāplavānām abhipūjitānāṁ
śṛṅgeṣu kaṇṭheṣu ca bhūṣitānām/
pracāritānam iha godhanānāṁ
pravartate samprati cāruyātrā//

The poet expresses the wish in the last verse:

pratāyamānair divasaiḥ samṛddhiḥ
pratāyatāṁ vo makarāyaṇena/
ino ya ātmā jagataś ca tasthuṣaḥ
sa vo navāṁ jīvakalām udīrayet//

Apart from the graphic account of the festivities connected with the celebration of the Makarasaṅkrānti, the poem interests a student of Sanskrit poetry on account of the skilful weaving in it of the words or the expressions from the Vedic texts reminding us of the lines from these, as for example:

1. yaḥ sūrya ut samam ulūlubhir arcatainam
2. vilikhya rathamaṇḍale ravim amuṁ trivedīmayam/
pracoditadhiyo vareṇiyatadīyabhargo'rcakāḥ//
3. ino ya ātmā jagataś ca tasthuṣaḥ
sa vo navāṁ jīvakalām udīrayet//

remind us of the Chāndogyopaniṣad line 'tamudyantam anu ulūluśabdā uttiṣṭhanti ca' and the lines from the Vedic verses 'bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt' and 'sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuṣaś ca'.

In the poem of eight verses 'Kālaḥ Kavih'[4] he speaks of Time as a Poet. What a wonderful capacity Time has that the past events when recounted appear like enjoyable stories! Touched with the brush of memory the old portrait shines out as if with a tinge of gold. All that is long past comes smilingly like a friend come back from a foreign visit. Appearing on the Stage of memory with a golden curtain the movements of incidents arouse curiosity in our mind with their dance numbers:

Kālaḥ kaviḥ kim api kārmaṇam asya tena
vṛtte punaś ca kathite sukatheva bhāti/
smṛtyākhyayā spṛśati tūlikayā ca tasmin
hemārpaṇair jvalati hanta purāṇacitram//
tat tat cirād gatam api smayamānam eti
deśāntarapratinivṛttam iva svamitram/
hemāpaṭīsmaraṇaraṅgam upetya lāsyair
no vṛttavṛttaya imā mana utkayanti//

The poet goes on: How is it that what one experiences directly gives intense pain, and what is this power of infatuation of the things past? The very fact that they are gone, slipped out of hand, irrecoverable, adds a charm to them.

pratyakṣam eva paramam katham ārtidāyi
keyaṁ parokṣaviṣayasya vimohaśaktiḥ/
yātaṁ, karād vigalitaṁ, na punaś ca labhyam
ityeva kāpi viṣayeṣu vijṛmbhate śrīḥ//

Just as the poet takes a thing away from its mundane surroundings, and with his poetic fancy, transforms it and makes it *alaukika*, with the result that instead of turning away one's mind from it one relishes it, so also Time, however painful the past may be, transforms it. One wistfully remembers all that is gone, although it was, at that time, painful.

4. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. III, No. 1, April, 1961.

While speaking of the Poet it will be pertinent to mention another poem of his on the Poet and his function. In the poem *Bhoḥ Kave*,[5] he addresses the Poet and tells him in six verses as to what he is and what he is at. The entire poem is characterized by an insight into the working of the mind of a Poet. Here is an assessment of the function of a Poet by a poet. It has naturally an intimate touch about it. What a Poet with his poetic fancy is, all that is put down here in expression which is at once elegant and eloquent. In Indian tradition the poet is spoken of as Prajāpati, the creator (apāre kāvyasaṁsāre kavir eva prajāpatiḥ) who would fashion the world the way he likes. Our poet speaks of the poet as 'Cintāmaṇi' which would transform iron into gold and even impart to it exquisite fragrance!

Cintāmaṇis tvam asi kevalasaṁgatas tvaṁ
kālāyasaṁ viparivartayasi kṣaṇena/
viśvādṛtābharaṇahematayā, tato 'pi
digvīcilaṁ parimalaṁ ca tanoṣi tatra//

He also speaks of him as the Moon which would transform the scorching rays of the Sun to make them spread coolness or a beautiful damsel the stroke of whose foot would make even dry stump sprout. In the last verse our poet expresses the longing:

sāmrājyam etad ayi te'tra kadā labheya
tvayy eva gandhapavane śayitas sadā syām/
padmāṭavīṣu tava te śaśimaṇḍaleṣu
mādyanmanā bata cariṣṇur aharniśaṁ syām//

"When would I have this kingdom of yours; when would I lie for ever in you as in fragrant breeze; when would I roam about in your lotus beds and lunar realms, day and night, with rapturous mind?" Needless to say that this longing of our poet, as is clear from his poems, has been fulfilled.

In another of his poem too Dr. Raghavan speaks of the Poet and takes him in the company of the learned and the sage. In the poem "Kaviḥ jñānī ṛṣiḥ"[6] he says that what the Jñanī and the Ṛṣi do, the Poet also does. He is quite different from the ordinary run. Even though moving along with the crowd in the street he

5. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1965.
6. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1965.

would feel as if he were not moving with them; he would be gazing on the pageant on the street as if seated in a balcony, although he is part of the crowd:

rathyācarajanaughena vrajann apy avrajann iva/
vitardikāyām āsīna iva rathyāṁ sa paśyati//

"Even though floating along the current he would imagine himself to be on the bank looking at the current":

vahann api svayaṁ nadyāḥ pravāheṇāvahann iva/
asau tiṣṭhann iva taṭe bhāti sroto nirūpayan//

Finally says our poet: "He alone has vision; he alone has the feeling mind. Gifted with vision, with feeling, he is the poet, the man of knowledge, the seer":

tasyaiva vartate prekṣā cetas tasyaiva vartate/
prekṣāvāṁś ca sacetāś ca kavir jñānī ṛṣiś ca saḥ//

A short poem of four verses *kiṁ tan navīkṛtirahasyarasāyanaṁ te*[7] is in excellent diction and style. It was written in the course of his long journey from Kanyā Kumārī to Simla (for participating in a Seminar at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, after attending the Vivekananda Rock Memorial Inauguration at Kanyā Kumārī). He reflects on the vast expanse of the land, its richness and variety and its capacity to hold in its lap crores of people:

ākanyam ātuhinaśailam agaccham amba
paśyan pravistṛtim imām nibiḍādbhutāṁ te/
dhanyāsi Bhāratadharitri! Janitri! yat tvad-
aṅke lalanti pṛthule bata vatsakoṭyaḥ//

Bhāratamātā, he says, protects all her sons even though they, through childishness, mutual bickerings, wailings, fights etc. disfigure her form and injure her feelings:

uccāvacam śiśutayā muhar amba vatsā
ete mithaḥ kalaharodanapīḍanādyaiḥ/
chindanti mūrtim api te vraṇayanti cittaṁ
kṣāntis tavāṅga kiyatī paripāsi sarvān//

7. *Samskrita Bhavitavyam* 3-10-1970.

But then, in the midst of all this, the poet sees the ripeness of time and its shining lustre on the sublime face of Motherland:

kā te dyutir Bhagavatīha mukhāravinde
kālapratāpaparipaktrimadīptalakṣmīḥ

He asks her: what is the secret elixir of your eternal rejuvenations? "kim tan navīkṛtirahasyarasāyanaṁ te".

As an example of the Anyokti form of poetry may be mentioned his poem, *Kokilanirvedaḥ*.[8] Written in the free style and in the form of a conversation between a cuckoo and its friend the poem brings forth the agony of the people with higher calibre finding the large number of people of a lower calibre holding the field, the cuckoo representing the former and the crow the latter. The cuckoo finds itself frustrated, sad and sunken. It finds itself mortified by the harsh notes of jealous crows:

īrṣyālukaraṭaugharaṭanair mriye'tra/

For it there is no spring, no blossom on the mango tree:

nāyaṁ vasanto na ca vā rasāle
aṅkūritaṁ me kisalaṁ; kva yāni/

Having lost all hope of better days it wails, 'Who will listen to me? For whom shall I sing?'

ko vātra śuśrūṣur anubhāvaśīlaḥ
ko vā rasaṁ vetti gāsyāmi kasmai?

In this anguish, it bursts forth "If it is impossible not to be born, it is better to die in childhood itself":

ajanir variṣṭhā yadi sā na jantoḥ
śiśubhāva eveha maraṇam varīyaḥ.

The poem mirrors the feelings about the swamping by the mediocre and the vulgar and the callous climate of apathy and the sinking of the elite.

In another short poem *yadi syād alam*,[9] Dr. V. Raghavan paints in a highly poetic language his picture of an ideal

8,9. *Samskrita Bhavitavyam* 22-8-1970, 5-9-1970.

and idyllic life, the sum-up of all that a cultured one will wish for. It breathes noble sentiments nobly expressed.

"My mind does not thirst for the sweetness of the nectar of the moon, nor does it want to roll in the golden sands of Kubera's land, nor to kiss the celestial damsels sporting in the heavenly Ganges, bedecked with Nandana flowers.

"Means, secure though limited, and enough to keep aglow the fire of the body, a home nestling in the lap of the flower-strewn garden, a small family, causing no concern, with a beloved wife, her heart swelling at the innocent smiles of the lovely children and sharing my toil—This is all that I desire."

mitas tad api niṣṭhito vibhava audarāgnyāhuteḥ
gṛhaṁ tanu suvāṭikāsumacitāṅkasaṁlālitam/
kuṭumbakam abhīṣaṇaṁ subhagaḍimbhamugdhasmita-
prajṛmbhihṛdayollasatpriyatamāvibhaktaśramam//

The poet wants to be away from the din of the excitement and quarrels of the vulgar, his inner soul sanctified and restful at the lotus-like feet of the Lord, the lotus of his intellect blooming in the sun-shine of the words the wise and his mind thrilled by sweet strains of music:

vidūrahṛtapāmarotkalahakopakolāhalaṁ
maheśvarapadāmbujasmaraṇapūtaśāntāntaram/
manīṣivacanāṁśumadvikacaśemuṣīpaṅkajaṁ
manaḥ sarasagītikāpulakitaṁ yadi syād alam//

In 1969 he published the poem *Kāmakoṭīti kārmaṇagṛhītam ivāntaraṅgam* which is in fact an eulogy, a *Stotra*, in twentytwo verses of Śrī Kāñcī Kāmākṣī. In this Dr. Raghavan, as a devotee, comes out in bold relief. The whole poem breathes devotion to Goddess. Some of the verses carry the refrain: "ādhāvam adya katham amba ..." "I came running to you, O Mother. ..." The poet, who was a young student when he wrote this, had long desired to visit Kāñcī:

utkaṇṭhitaś ciram iti prabalaṁ samīpam
ādhāvam adya tava devi madālasākṣi//

"It is Kañcī, the play-ground of the wavy glances of mercy famous for their converting the mute into the eloquent, the seat

of omniscience (ascended by Śrī Śaṅkara), and Kāmakoṭī, the end of all desires; because of these my mind is capitivated as if by magic":

Kāñcīti mūkamukharīkṛtilabdhavarṇa-
kāruṇyavīciladṛśāṁ vihṛtisthalīti/
sarvajñapīṭhanagarīti ca kiñca kāma-
koṭīti kārmaṇagṛhītam ivāntaraṅgam//

The poet prays to the goddess:

śīlaṁ viśodhaya jagajjanani prakṛṣṭa-
bodhaṁ vidhehi diśa bhaktim anaśvarāṁ me/
apy amba bhāvaghanam ādṛtacārurūpam
udbodhayāśu mayi Devi vacovilāsam//

"O Mother of the world, purify my nature, give me highest enlightenment, vouchsafe me undying devotion. And O Mother, awaken in me forthwith beautiful and significant expression."

In the *Brahmapatravaivartapurāṇam*,[10] a poem in twenty verses in Anuṣṭubh metre we see Dr. Raghavan in a different vein. It is divided into five brief Adhyayas of *Samanvaya, Vibhūti, Brahmapatramāhātmya, Nāsācūrṇamāhātmya* and *Dhūmavartimāhātmya*. He speaks here of Tobacco and the uses to which it is put. This is a satire on this much used or abused commodity. Written in the style of the Purāṇas it has its effect heightened by the pungent humour that characterizes it. Known as Brahmapatra in the south, Tobacco is spoken of by the poet as the supreme Brahman Itself on account of its four qualities: it is supreme bliss, it has its connection with the word Brahman; its long tapering shape is like that of Brahma-puccha and its name is turīya or fourth (a name current among tobacco lovers), it being the fourth ingredient of a betel-chewing: first, betel-leaf, second areca-nut pieces, third lime, fourth tobacco:

ānandaparakāṣṭhātvāt brahmaśabdānvayād api/
brahmapucchākṛtitvāc ca turīyety abhidhānataḥ//

The poet mentions the three uses of tobacco:

nāsācūrṇo dhūmavartiḥ vīṭituryāṅgam ity api/

It is used in snuff, cigarette and betel-chewing.

Here is his clever dig at those who take the last variety of it: They do not even care for bath and food and remain motionless like Para-brahman:

kiñcid ādāya tālvantaḥ snānāhārādyanādaraḥ/
tathaivāspandam āste hi parabrahmaiva kevalam//

Those who take snuff are indeed Yogins:

cūrṇopayogino nūnaṁ yogino nātra saṁśayaḥ/

For cigerette he has the righteous aversion; he says it is the taper that burns and destroys customary orthodox conduct, āstikya, tvam vartir āstikyadāhikā.

He has a dig at the smokers too:

nityāgnayo jayanty eke savartyālāpakovidāḥ/
avicchinnāgnayaś caike te hi pāvakadarśanāḥ//

"Victorious are indeed the *Nityāgnis,* those who have fire constantly with them and who can converse with a cigerette in mouth, as also the chain smokers, whose very sight is purifying as they are always seen with fire (*pāvaka*=fire and the purifier)!"

The *Dambhavibhūtiḥ*[10] is a longer poem is seventysix Anuṣṭubh verses. It is a powerful satire on hypocricy. The poet sustains the idea that none is free from hypocricy, the difference lying only in degree:

nāstīha ko'pi nirdambhaḥ mātrābhedo'sti kevalam.

In the style of the Upaniṣads, he declares:

dambhāvāsyam idaṁ sarvaṁ neha nānāsti kiñcana/
ekam etat paraṁ tattvaṁ vidvāñ carati saukhyataḥ//

"All that is here is covered with hypocricy: there is nothing here which is different from that. One who knows this supreme truth moves about happily.

The poet then describes the various types of hypocricy: How people conceal their miserliness under the pretext of saving money in times of difficulty for their sons, how young men go to temples

10. *Samskrita Bhavitavyam.*

to rub shoulders with the opposite sex in the crowd, how boys and girls carry on their love affairs under the pretext of friendship, how some learned people permit themselves senseless observations and ascribe it to some tradition, how some people take up a wrong position and conceal the uselessness of their stand under the pretext of freedom of thought, how some memorials to dead leaders and V.I.P.s are put up to collect money and misuse them, how ministership is considered the path to royal position and power, with even the princes today longing for it, how factories and industrial establishments are put up with public funds and enjoyed by Directors and members of their family, how Christian missionaries undermine ancient religions under cover of education, health and so on. Only a few illustrations of hypocricy are given (in the poem), says the poet. One who is expert in Dambha does understand people in reality. On account of its all-comprehensive nature and permeating character the poet terms Dambha as Brahman:

itas tatas ca yatkiñcid udāhriyata kevalam/
Dambhabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ narāñ jānāti tattvataḥ//

As waves in the ocean other transient feelings lead to augment eventually the permanent feeling of hypocricy:

sañcāribhāva anye hi jātā vīcivad ambudhau/
Sthāyinam dambham evāmī vardhayanty uttarottaram//

In a beautiful sum-up the poet says:

Just as water risen from the ocean (in the form of waves) goes again into ocean so in Dambha-brahman, all things are included:

abdhyutpannaṁ jalam sarvam abdhim eva gataṁ tathā/
dambhabrahmamahāvākye sarvabhāvasamanvayaḥ//

There are three story poems of his: In *Devabandī Varadarājaḥ*[11] he narrates the story of Varadarāja, a sacred ministrel of God Raṅganātha's shrine at Srirangam, who goes and lives with a Harijan women and is reclaimed by the Lord one day, after some years. The story is of absorbing interest.

11. *Amṛtavāṇī* 1948.

Dr. Raghavan has invested it with idyllic charm by his skilful handling of the situtations and the highly poetic flashes. The poem opens with a description of the river Cauvery early morning, whose glowing waters, with the sun appearing and the sky turning crimson, justify its name Kanakā (golden).

kanakākhyāṁ vivṛṇvānāḥ kāveryāḥ stimitāmbhasi/
babhuḥ prasṛmarā udyadarkasauvarṇabhaktayaḥ//

The description of the love-stricken state of Varadarāja and his advances to the Harijan girl is also vivid and graphic:

mattakāśini mattākṣi mādito 'smi tava śriyā/
māmy ahaṁ naiva me dehe hanta niḥśaraṇo 'smy aham//

kā tvam payodharasphūrtimukuṭāyitasauṣṭhave/
āviṣṭaṁ tvayi maccittaṁ samehi varayasva mām//

The depiction of the scene of the falling off of the mortal frame of Varadarāja and the issuing forth of the light from it which merged in the Lord is as graphic as it is elevating:

netuṁ svaṁ patitam dvijanmanagaraṁ yāvat sa bandyuttamaḥ
puryāḥ sīmni jugupsamānamanasā tasthau gṛṇann īśvaram/
tāvat tasya papāta bhautikavapuḥ sadyo dharaṇyāṁ kṣaṇād
devāṅge'milad advayaṁ śatataṭitsphūrtiḥ prabhā kācana//

In the second story poem *Mahīpo Manunīticolaḥ*[12] Dr. Raghavan presents a touching episode from the story of king Manunīticola of Tiruvarur so known because of his extreme righteousness and the rigour in following the path of Manu, the ancient Hindu law-giver. The episode is:

"Tiruvarur (the author's native place, in Tanjore District), one of the ancient Chola capitals, famed in the annals of Tamil history and culture, was being ruled over by king Manu-nīti-kaṇḍa-Cola, so named because of the rigour with which he maintained law and righteousness, not swerving from the path laid down by Manu. He had established a bell at the entrance to his palace, which any

12. *Amṛtavāṇī* 1949.

being in his kingdom, wanting justice to be done or grievance to be redressed, could freely approach and ring, and to whose call the king immediately responded.

One evening the king's son, the young prince, while going round the main streets of the town in his chariot, ran over a calf; the mother cow rang the bell at the king's palace; the king issued forth, saw the tragedy and decreed that the prince should pay with his life for the rash drive; accordingly the chariot was driven over the prince, who cheerfully laid down his body for the ordeal. Pleased at king Manunīti's unparalleled enforcement of righteousness, God Tyāgarāja, Patron-Deity of Tiruvarur, manifested Himself, revived both the calf and the prince, and blessed them all."

The poem is written in a fluent and simple style. The description of the chariot, the remorse of the prince at the killing of the calf and the king's determination to uphold righteousness have all been described here in an expression at once elegant and dignified. By way of specimen we may well reproduce the verse below which truly catches the spirit of the iron will of the king to mete out justice, to be ruthless in punishment even if the offender happens to be his own son: no consideration would weigh with him, he would not care to look at the face of his offspring nor the tears rolling on the faces of his wife, ministers and the citizens:

kṛpāṇadhārāvratadhṛc ca bhūpo
naivodapaśyan manunīticolaḥ/
mukhaṁ svaputrasya na vāśru paura-
śuddhāntamantryānanataḥ pravāhi//

Gopa Hampaṇṇaḥ is a brief story poem on Hampaṇṇa, a watchman who died a martyr's death while saving the honour of a Hindu lady against a party of drunken British Soldiers. The inspiration for this came from an account of an actual incident which created quite a stir among the public of Madras. The poem was published in 1947 in the *Amritavāṇī* of Bangalore. It is in four sections, the first in eighteen verses in Upajāti describing the incident of the chase of the young Lingayat woman walking back home in the evening by the drunken British Soldiers camping at Guntakal en route to Secunderabad, the providing of shelter to her in his hut by one Hampaṇṇa, a Kuruba (cowherd by caste), watchman stationed near the Railway level crossing, the attempt of the soldiers to break

open the hut to outrage the modesty of the young woman, the resistence offered by the watchman who brandised a bamboo to scare them and their taking to heels and the shooting of the watchman with a revolver by a fleeing soldier; the second section in four verses in Anuṣṭubh describing the inability of dying Hampaṇṇa to identify the culprit at the identification parade and the performance of his last rites by the grief-stricken people around; the third in seven Vasantatilakā verses describing the attempt of the people to take the case to the Court and the Court upholding the defence case that the young women was a prostitute; that Hampaṇṇa, her procurer, grew violent while higgling about her fees and that the soldier shot in self-defence; and the fourth in three verses, two in Mālinī and one in Śārdūlavikrīḍita in which the poet asks the wayfarer to stop at the public memorial to the martyr on the Kurnool-Bangalore road and pay homage to the memory of that noble soul.

The pathos of the incident of the laying down of his life by Hampaṇṇa for the noblest of the noble causes and writhing pain at the false charges upheld by the court are well brought out in the poem.

bho bho bhāvukapāntha tasya puratah
te bāṣpapādyaṁ kuru
ślokaṁ tasya śilāmukhe vilikhitaṁ
tvam vācayitvāpy amum/
atra śvetabhaṭābhiyogavipadaḥ kāñcit tu
Hindustriyaṁ
Hampaṇṇaḥ parirakṣya tair abhihataḥ
tadbhasma śete mahat//

Dr. Raghavan's homages to two of the greatest figures of Modern India should also be mentioned, the one to Swami Vivekananda under the title "Narendro Vivekānandaḥ"[13] and the other to Gandhiji. Before he took to Sannyāsa, attained knowledge and fame, Swami Vivekananda was known as Narendra. The author mentions this fact in the last verse of the eulogy with 'Khyāti' used in the two meanings 'fame' and 'knowledge' :

jāto narendro yaḥ khyātyā Vivekānandatāṁ gataḥ//

13. *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1963.

The author has the pun in the next line on the words Narendra and Vivekananda:

Narendrāḥ syāma tatsmṛtyā vivekānandalābhataḥ//

By remembering him, "may we become leaders of the people through the joy of *viveka*, discrimination, that we get." The poem was written on the occasion of the hundredth birth anniversary of Swami Vivekananda. The author sums up his life, work and personality in the following verse:

yaḥ śrī-Śaṁkaravan mitā api samāḥ prāpyeha
jhañjhāmarut.
tulyas tolayati sma viśvam akhilaṁ vyasmāyayad
vāgjharaiḥ/
Vedāntaṁ punar uddadhāra janatāsvādhyātmikīṁ vāsanāṁ
tasyaitasya dhṛte 'pi nāmani śubhe ko vā na romañcati//

"Who, like Śrī Śaṅkara, had only a few years, shook the whole world like a storm making the people wonder-struck by his eloquence; who revived Vedānta as also the spiritual feeling among people,—who is there who would not be thrilled when his blessed name is uttered?"

The author tells us all how he started the two magazines Prabuddha Bhārata and Vedānta Kesarī and lighted the lamp of spirituality with the light (of wisdom) of the sages which had gone out under the impact of worldliness (dvīpānteṣu viṣayagraha-vegaśāntam adhyātmadīpam udadīpayad ārṣadīptyā//).

One of the peculiarities of the poem lies in the skilful weaving in it in Sanskrit version of the well-known sayings in English of Swami Vivekananda such as 'Let the lion of Vedanta roar'.

āraṇyabhūmiṣu yathecchavihāraśālī
Vedāntasiṁha uruvikramalaṅghitāśaḥ/
garjatv iti svayam agarjad abhīr nṛsiṁho
yo jñānam aupaniṣadaṁ prathayan pṛthivyām//

Or "arise, awake and stop not till your goal is reached".

uttiṣṭhatoccalata jāgrata labdhalakṣyā
yāvan na mā viramateti ca yo jughoṣa//

Or "how funny is the touch-me-notism of Hinduism":

kvoktiḥ tato na vijugupsata ity udārā
kvāspṛśyatāmayamataṁ bata hāsyam etat//

It was Swami Vivekananda who first used the expression Daridranārāyaṇa for the poor. He wondered at the lavish services at the temples while the poor, the Daridranārāyaṇas, moved about without food or clothing:

pūjālayeṣu ca kathaṁ vipulā daridra-
nārāyaṇeṣu vicaratsu nirannavastram//

The Swami had attained the vision for the regeneration of the spiritual energy of the world when he took to meditation at Kanyā Kumārī in a rock in the ocean (which later came to be known after him as the Vivekananda Rock) which looked like his fortitude itself after he had crossed the waves which looked verily like his obstacles:

vighnān ivormivitatīs tarasā taran svam
adhyāsya dhairyam iva parvatakhaṇḍam abdhau/
kanyāpade dhṛtasamādhir avāpa yaś ca
dṛṣṭiṁ punarbhavakṛte jagadātmaśakteḥ//

When he was sitting on this rock he realized the oneness and the unity of India spread out before him from Kanyā Kumārī to the Himalayas and its immortal culture from Vāmadeva to his guru Ramakrishna:

tatropaviśya purato vitatāṁ akhaṇḍām . . . .
ākanyam ātuhinaśailam apaśyad ekām/
yo bhāratīṁ bhuvam anaśvarasaṁskṛtiṁ tām
ā-Vāmadevanijadeśika-Rāmakṛṣṇam//

The Swami would often quote the Upaniṣadic lines such as 'nāyam ātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ' which our poet embodies in his verses, as for example:

ātmaiṣa naiva balahīnajanenalabhya
ityāgamoktam avadhatta.....

On account of his patriotism the Swami came to be known as the 'patriot monk', an expression which our poet renders in the equally effective Sanskrit expression 'rāṣṭravīra'. This he couples

with the expressions 'jñānavīra' and 'karmavīra'; the symmetrical ending of all expressions in *vīra* hightening the effect of the statement:

jñānavīraḥ karmavīro rāṣṭravīraś ca yo babhau//

In the penultimate verse of the poem the poet gives expression to the gratitude of the people of India to Swami Vivekananda in many ways:

tasyādhamarṇāh katidhā na bhavāmo' tra bhārate

In the poem *Mahātmā*[14] with its twentyone verses, eighteen of which are in Anuṣṭubh while the remaining three are in Vasantatilakā, the author pays fitting tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. The verses were written after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. In it the poet recounts the great and noble deeds of the Mahatma. He hopes that what the Mahatma could not achieve in his life, he might achieve by his death:

asādhi yan na jīvatā tanutyajāstu tat kṛtam/

He includes Gandhi among those that lend glory to India:

Gītā Gaṅgā tathā Gaurī-giris cety atra ye punaḥ/
hetavo Bhāratonnatyai teṣu Gāndhy apy anantimaḥ//

The poet sums up the teachings of the Mahatma in his inimitable style in one single verse:

satyān nāsti paro devaḥ nāhimsāto pyupāsanā/
samatvaṁ paramo yogo vasudhaikaṁ kuṭumbakam//
eṣa ādeśa eṣo 'yam upadeśo mahātmanaḥ/

"There is no god superior to truth, no worship superior to non-violence, equality is the highest Yoga, the whole world is one family—this is the teaching of the Mahatma, this is his preaching."

In *Vāgvādinī Sahasratantrī*, a poem in thirty verses in Vasantatilakā metre published in the Adityanath Jha Felicitation Volume, the poet offers a rhapsody on the presiding Deity of Nāda and Vāk, of sound and speech. The countless sounds in creation are her manifestations. The thousands of strings of Her Vīṇā vibrate all

14. *Vedantakesari;* also *Samskrita Pratibhā,* VIII. 2.

around in Nature. The sound of the ocean with its dancing waves is her loud laughter. The whistling sound coming out of the hollows of the bamboos filled with the breeze from the southern quarter is the song of the forest deity seated on the throne bedecked with the jewels of flowers and leaves:

āgastyadikprasṛmarānilapūritebhayaḥ
vaṁśaprarohasuṣirebhya udeti yā sā/
gītis tavaiva sumaparṇavicitraratna-
siṁhāsanoparilasadvanadevatāyāḥ//

In former ages the great sages saw Her in the form of Mantras with which She directs us like a Queen (mantrātmikā prabhur ivādiśasi); it is she who instils in the minds the way of Dharma and the highest aim of life among people by means of the charming stories of the Epics (āvarjiteṣu hrdayeṣu manoharābhir ākhyāyikābhir uparohayasi tvam eva). The poet goes on:

pūrṇāmṛtāṁśukiraṇair abhimṛśyamānaḥ
candrāśmabhaṅga iva haimarasapravāham/
spṛṣṭas sakṛt tava sudhīḥ karuṇākaṭākṣaiḥ
kāvyaṁ pravāhayati hanta nirargalaṁ saḥ//

Like the moon-stone giving out the flow of liquid, cool like snow, when touched by the rays of the full moon, the learned (poet) when touched but once by your mercyful glances pours out unimpeded poetry."

Like Daṇḍin the poet declares:

tvām āmananti sudhiyaḥ sitavarṇinīti
sārasvatī kalayate vitathaṁ kim īkṣā?
andhe tamasy akhilam eva jagan nimajjed
udbhāsanāya yadi nāsti tava prakāśaḥ//

The poem closes with a prayer of the poet to Sarasvatī:

sampūrṇam eva mayi devi taraṅgayākṣi
pīyūṣam eva mayi varṣaya te dayākhyam/
yady at karomi vacasā vyavahāraśilpaṁ
tat tat tavaiva vividhaprasavārcanaṁ syāt//

ākāśaśaṅkaraśiraḥpatiteva Gaṅgā
vāsantiko malayagandhavaho yathā vā/
jyotsneva śāradevidhor navamallikeva
vāṅ māṁ vṛṇotu vivṛṇotu tanuṁ guṇaiḥ svaiḥ//

vāgvādinīha karuṇākaṇikāṁ kathañcid
āsādya yām iha vacaḥkaṇikām avāpam/
tāṁ te padāmburuhayor visṛjāmi pādyaṁ
tvattas tvayaiva tava pūjanabhūṣaṇe stām//

"O goddess, cast your full glance on me, shower on me the nectar of your mercy. Whatever I do through words, let that be worship offered to you in the form of manifold flowers.

"May the Divine speech choose me as her favourite, and reveal herself with all her excellences, like the Gaṅgā descending from the sky on the head of Lord Śaṁkara, or the vernal Malaya breeze, or the light of the autumnal moon, or the fresh jasmine flower.

"O, Vāgvādini! whatever iota of your mercy I got, and whatever bit of expression thereby, that I offer at your feet so that your worship as well as your adornment be through you and with what you yourself have given.

Printed Khaṇḍa Kāvyas (minor poems) of Dr. Raghavan noticed above

1. 'Kiṁ priyaṁ Kālidāsasya', *Kālidāsa Pratibhā*, Samskrit Academy, Madras, 1955.
2. 'Śliṣṭaprakīrṇakam', *Samskrita Pratibhā*, Sahitya Academi, New Delhi, Vol. II, No. I, April 1960.
3. 'Saṅkrāntimahaḥ', *ibid.*, October 1961.
4. 'Kālaḥ Kaviḥ', *ibid.*, April 1961.
5. 'Bhoḥ Kave', *ibid.*, October 1965.
6. 'Kavir jñānī ṛṣiḥ,' *ibid.*, October 1965.
7. 'Narendro Vivekānandaḥ', *ibid.*, April, 1963, also *Vedanta-kesari*, Madras-4.
8. 'Kim tan navīkṛtirahasyarasāyanaṁ te', *Samskrita Bhavitavyam*, Nagpur, Vol. XX, 3-10-1970.
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four Great Affirmations which unify the Upanishads, "That Thou Art! (*Tattvam asi*) O Svetaketu," The father commands the son, "Bring the fruit of the Nyagrodha tree". "Here Sir." "Open it." "It is opened, Sir." "What do you see?" "Sir, I see seeds, as small as atoms." "Split one of these." "One is split, Sir." "What do you see inside?" "Nothing, Sir." "My dear," the father told Svetaketu, "from that minute source which you cannot see, this huge Nyagrodha springs; believe this, my dear."

The famous passage which Gandhi once claimed was all that Hinduism needed to live forever "if left intact in the memory of Hinduism", also deals with Self: "It moves, it moves not; it is far, it is near; it is inside all this, it is outside all this. He who sees all beings in his Self, and his Self in all beings, has threreby no longer loathing for others...". Later, what is "This Imperishable"? It "is the unseen seer, the unheard listener, the thinker unthought of, and the unknown knower".

Here, in the presence of man's most ancient experiences at exploring his mind, the point is how each of us is to own his own mind and how each of us is to become ininhabited. However, one can work too hard at the quest. In the midst of the persistent questioning of Yajnavalkya by Gargi, the master snaps, "Gargi, do not ask too much; your head will fall". And in a passage referring to life's brevity ("of a day's duration") and how "man is not to be satisfied with wealth", Nachiketas, the son, asked his father after he had given away all his worldly possessions, "Father, to whom will you give me?' And twice, thrice did he ask. The father burst out: "To Death I give you". Nachiketas continues his wonderment in "the abode of death". The god Yama says, "Nachiketas, do not persist in questioning me about death". But he does and in a supreme moment of idolatry of death over life says to no one in particular, "Keep the horses and the dance and the music to yourself". If the questioning and the search for answer which spin the thread of the Upanishads seem contradicted by the mysteries discussed there, still another surprise faces the student. Hinduism eschews books per se as sources of learning. The very question and answer periods establish the *guru-sishya* pattern, the relationship between master and pupil. Precisely as a psychiatrist tells you no one can do it on his own or by himself (Freud did, though), so too is Hinduism adamant on the subject. The Veda, a couple

of millennia before Christ, states it simply: "One ignorant of the place asked one who knew; and instructed by the one who knows, he goes to his destination." "He who has a teacher, knows."

And coming down to the 19th century, we find in Raghavan's "*The Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja,*" a collection and commentary of some 565 songs composed by a great saint-singer, a song on the subject of learning in general; "a corpse dressed in lace turban, adorned with precious jewels, so is a worldly-minded clever person possessing scholarship...." And Upanishads answer that one too: What is supposed to happen at the end of the voyage of knowledge...."Therefore, a Brahman should, completing his learning, take his stand on the strength of his knowledge; transcending both strength and learning, he should then be a silent meditator; transcending both non-meditation and meditation...." This passage is taken by some to mean that after freeing oneself from the desire for any more learning, man should remain like a child. Meanwhile, however, Raghavan's books take their readers to the very brink of ultimate knowledge independently gained and privately garnered.

"*The Great Integrators*" is a historical collection of greatest "saint-singers" poems and hymns from every part of India. The time ranges from the 7th century in the South to the 19th century in the North; and the religious poets represent orthodox Hinduism, Hindu-Muslim combinations (Kabir, for instance), Sufism, and other religious philosophies of India. These songs are nearer to the heart and mind of the people at large, than the ponderous and mightily obscure classical literature of Sanskrit and you can turn here if the past is too much for the present. Indeed, every 'modernity' is incorporated in them and through their imagery spiritual thought travels like a shock wave. Examine this one, for example, by Purandara, founder of Karnatak or South Indian music in the 16th Century. He incorporates the picture of the wandering *bairagi,* mendicant, self-appointed priests addicted to hashish; however, he carefully converts the drug experience to the worship of God. This is his song:

"Try and take in this smoke; rid your body of its sins; open the bag of your mind. Take therefrom and cut into bits the intoxicating leaves of your daily sins, light them in the crucible

of your body with the fire of the Lord's contemplation; in the boiler of this body, fitted with the tube of devotion to your teacher, fill well the water of Lord Narayana; you enthusiastic man! the intoxication will go to your head; destroying your indigence and other drawbacks, the smoke will rise up; knowledge will dawn in your mind; and the Lord of the Teacher will be revealed."

Kabir, on the other hand, in the 15th Century, a Hindu-Muslim mystic, used liquor, that anathema of Mohammedans, for his music: "Make thy body the vat, the *guru's* instructions the molasses, etc...." And he did not hesitate to use his hymns as social commentary. In one he vocalizes on the practice of nudity: "If by going about naked one could obtain unity with the Supreme Lord, beasts in the wild woods would be among the saved. If one could obtain salvation merely by remaining continent, eunuchs should automatically reach the Supreme State."

In the '*Nrtta Ratnavali* of Jayasenapati' Raghavan returns to his other speciality—dance and drama. The Sanskrit original of this book was written in 1254 A.D. (this text was edited from two Telugu palm-leaf manuscripts in the Tanjore Library), and it contains descriptions of dances (many now lost from the living stage) and a detailed study of the basic postures of dance as compared with the sculptures of these poses on various temples in the South of India. Clearly as a source-book for dancers, this major Sanskrit-text on dance and the most elaborately edited work on dance in India contains enormous bearing on the course and fate of today's art. As testimony to Dr. Raghavan's superlative scholarship and variety of command within the field of Sanskrit studies, it well rounds out the rapid and continuing succession of his recently printed works. Dr. Raghavan places India's past in the context of the entire world's present. As a result we are wiser, if not spiritually more adept.

AN INTEGRATED SCHOLAR

D. ANJANEYULU

To be steeped in the ancient religions classics, and yet retain a modern outlook, to be brought up in the hoary tradition of learning and yet develop a scientific temper, to be versatile without being called a dilettante, to be prolific without ceasing to be profound—these are tasks, difficult of achievement, if not altogether impossible, in the India of today, as in other countries. One could hardly think of more than half-a-dozen men or women, who have such achievement to their credit in the world of contemporary Indian scholarship. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's name comes readily to one's mind in this connection in the East and North of the country, with no second to follow him close. In the South, there is only one name, that of Dr. V. Raghavan, who has remained unrivalled in his chosen field, for over three decades now. At the age of sixty, he could look back at the distance that he had already covered, though it is not in him to rest on his oars, for he is ever driven by the ceaseless spirit of adventure to strive and to seek and not to yield before any hurdles that might come his way.

Having taken to the study of Sanskrit more by choice than by necessity, Dr. Raghavan has enriched it in a variety of ways during the last three decades. He has been associated with the University of Madras, as a research scholar, Junior lecturer, Reader and Professor. It was under the late Prof.. Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri that he studied *Nyaya-Vaiseshika* and *Sāmkhya-Yoga* as special subjects, besides Comparative Indo-European Philology and other general subjects in the Sanskrit Honours (M.A.) course in 1927-30. One of the assets that he had as a college student was the grounding he already had in the language and literature which he had studied privately in traditional style and the background at home of devotional literature and a detailed acquaintance with the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata, which produced a great impression on his teachers. No wonder he passed in First Class, with First Rank, taking all the Gold Medals, five of them. For his research work, leading to the

Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1935, he chose the unpublished manuscript, *Srngara Prakasa* of Bhoja, and wrote his thesis which was valued by Professors Sylvain Levi, F. W. Thomas, and A. B. Keith, all scholars of world renown. He had since revised and made it uptodate, with significant additions. The full work, a volume of nearly one thousand pages, was published in 1963 with the support of the Maharaja of Mysore, H. H. Jaya Chamaraja Wodiyar. It is a monumental study of the various schools of aesthetics and literary criticism in Sanskrit, with special reference to Bhoja's contributions. With its wide range and marvellous sweep, as also a depth of critical insight, it justly deserved the Sahitya Akademi's award, which it earned in 1966. It remains an authoritative exposition and a thesaurus of the subject and is unlikely to be superseded in the years to come, except it be by his own forthcoming edition of its Sanskrit text in the *Harvard Oriental Series.*

The number of learned publications, in the form of independent books, brochures and papers, written or edited by Dr. Raghavan, are nearly eighty to date. A descriptive list of these would fill the whole space of a sizable newspaper article. Suffice it here to touch upon the most outstanding of them. *The New Catalogus Catalogorum,* of which five volumes have come out so far, is a major project of world importance, undertaken by the University of Madras in the Department of Sanskrit. It is a complete register of Sanskrit and allied (Prakrit, Jains, Buddhistic) works and authors, with a list of their manuscripts in India and outside and references to their editions, textual criticism etc. It was in connection with this stupendous work that Dr. Raghavan visited almost all parts of the world from Nepal to the Netherlands, not excluding Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe, from the different countries of South-East Asia to North America, where he had made abiding friendships at most of the universities and other academic institutions. He had contributed chapters on Sanskrit language and literature, on literary criticism and history, on Indian poetry and poetics to the *Encyclopaedia of Literature,* New York, to the *Encyclopaedia Americana* and the *Dictionary of Poetry and Poetics,* Princeton. to the *Sources of Indian Tradition* Columbia University, and several other special volumes. He has helped in their research work numberless scholars of Europe, America and Japan.

In discussing aspects of Sanskrit literature, including the *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakas* of Kālidāsa, Dr. Raghavan takes care to avoid the all-too familiar banalities of the traditional scholar, the pedestrian college or university teacher, and the patronisingly breezy generalisations of the Western critic. Speaking on *'Upamā Kālidāsasya'* he observes: ....."Similes, comparisons, metaphors and imagery are not mere embellishments; they are the doors through which the poet's vision reaches out on all sides, and reveals things in an undreamt of relatedness. They are not external additions but are of the very texture and making of the poet's expression .... The chief features of Kalidasa's similes are variety, grace, aptness and suggestion...." Commenting on the theme of love and its treatment in *Meghadūta*, he says:

"It is just possible that in this lyric, poet Kālidāsa himself sojourning in central India owing to some event in his life, feels nostalgic about his home in the north and sends this message to his own beloved. Historical scholars have tried to piece together certain facts to render such a supposition possible .... Even in this pure lyric, Kālidāsa touches upon his philosophy of love; of passion requiring the fire of separation and suffering to purify it and to weld the two hearts together all the more strongly ....." About the plays he gives a succinct account of their comparative merits in the brief compass of a well-packed radio talk:

"*Mālavikāgnimitra* is sustained by a well-organised story; with the ingenious design of the *Vidūṣaka* forming its base, it has a political background and, more than these, attractive motifs like dance contest and the *Aśoka-dohada*. But it does not give scope to Kalidasa's idealism and philosophy which find their fullest expression in *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, which may be called the poet's final testament ..... Whatever its other features, its (that of *Vikramorvaśīya*) main characteristic is that the gods and the humans mingle here and the drama passes from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven. It is such bridges between the two worlds, the mortal and the divine, the material and the spiritual, that Kālidāsa has built in his dramatic creations."

It may be recalled that Dr. Raghavan was for some years Sanskrit Adviser to All India Radio, and in that capacity, not only broadcast talks on a wide variety of topic and designed pro-

grammes, but produced many plays of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti etc., himself taking a leading role in most of them.

To contemplate the fact that a University Professor in the midst of his academic pressures, besides other preoccupaions, had published nearly 800 learned articles, besides books and pamphlets (not to mention the regular crop of newspaper reviews and other occasional articles) might take one's breath away. But that is just what Dr. Raghavan has done, and with the ease of a bright schoolboy reciting his favourite rhymes! A descriptive catalogue of these would make a respectable volume by itself such as the one now ready. A cursory glance at their titles and the subjects covered by them would reveal an incredible versatility of interests as also an admirale resourcefulness of mind, worthy of a modern encyclopaedist. 'Traditional values in Modern India' and 'Sources of the Indian Tradition', 'Vedanta in the West' and 'French Contribution to Indology', 'Ananda Coomaraswamy' and 'Anandaranga Pillai', 'Tyagaraja and Annamacharya', 'Music in Pulkuriki Somanatha's Works', 'Hyderabad as a Centre of Sangita', 'Kālidāsa and Kauṭalya', and 'Kālidāsa and Some English Authors' are just a few of them, by way of random sampling. There seem to be few subjects, relating to the humanities, which are beyond the ken of the learned author. Dr. Raghavan has seldom been guilty of unverified facts, questionable arguments or conclusions that do not follow by the compulsions of logic. His contribution on '*Śukranīti*' (published in the political science journal *Rāja Vidyā*, Madras, 1964) is an example of how effectively a long-surviving myth of high respectability could be neatly exploded.

His interest in music and dance is next only to his devotion to poetry and drama; nor is any one of them restricted to mere book-knowledge. *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja* in which he edited the English translation of the *Kritis* by the late Mr. C. Ramanujachari with a detailed critical Introductory Thesis, yet remains an authoritative work on the subject, available in the English language, despite more recent publications. As the Secretary of the Music Academy in Madras, an institution with a cherished reputation for maintaining the standards of classical music, in the medley of parochial and other passing enthusiasms of the day, he has raised its prestige to an international level by drawing the scholars, musicians and musicologists of the world, West as well as East, to it.

Most of his articles and reviews relating to music lie scattered in the volumes of its journal, which he has been editing with singular distinction for nearly three and a half decades. The Academy runs a school of dance (Bharata Natya) conducted by T. Balasaraswati (the exponent of the authontic Natya tradition with an unequalled flair for *abhinaya*) with the help and guidance of Dr. Raghavan. The knowledge of theory that Dr. Raghavan commands from Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* downwards is wellknown in this field. One of his daughters, Priyamvada (after a well-known character of Kalidasa) is a trained danseuse of considerable talent, having undergone intense training with Balasarasvati for a decade and half, with her younger sister Nandini closely following in her footsteps. As the Chairman of the Madras Natya Sangh, an unofficial body affiliated to the Bharatiya Natya Sangh, Delhi, he has been instrumental in the production of experimental plays and the running of a drama school, under the supervision of Indian and visiting foreign experts.

His Samskrta Ranga is an amateur group, exclusively devoted to the staging of Sanskrit plays. With younger scholars and students like Dr. T. K. Venkateswaran (now in U.S.), Dr. S. S. Janaki, Sri C. S. Sundaram, Dr. K. Ganesan and others forming part of it, it has, its life and soul in the founder, Dr. Raghavan. The Ranga had, in the past, presented plays like *'Sakuntalam'*, *'Malavikagnimitram'*, and *'Vikramorvasiyam'* in the Kalidasa Festival at Ujjain, at the Music Academy, Madras and at the Natya Sangh, Madras, besides short farces like the *Bhagavadajjukiyam*. In connection with his 61st birthday celebrations, they enacted a historical play entitled *'Anarkali'* (on the love story of Prince Salim, the heir-apparent of Emperor Akbar), written by Dr. Raghavan himself. Not even the most undaunted of optimists would claim that there is now a particularly favourable climate for Sanskrit plays here or elsewhere. But all power to the elbow of those who keep the flag flying, in fair weather and foul!

Ignorance and apathy might be fairly characteristic of the general attitude to Sanskrit, which might be too easily dismissed by many as a "dead language". But Dr. Raghavan would remind us of the well-chosen words of Sir William Jones who described it long ago as a language "of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely

refined than either." While most people, especially the politicians in office who are taken for original thinkers the while they are in power, tend to boost their own respective languages in season and out, raising a veritable tower of Babel anew, scholars like Dr. Raghavan are luckily still there to tell us from time to time:

"The vogue of Sanskrit is pan-Indian and, barring the four main South Indian languages, all the other Indian languages are descended from it. The greatest bond of unity is to be found in it, and when one remembers that the strongest force for such unity is culture, not politics, one will comprehend the real value of Sanskrit and the part it can play, even in a practical way, in the consolidation of the far flung Indian Union".

On the problem of national integration, at the emotional level, there is an increasing polarisation of forces between two schools of thought, rather two sets of vested interests, one paying lip sympathy to it and trying to dragoon all the others to its own language and way of life before a deadline; and the other fanning the fires of regional separatism by appealing to the narrow and local loyalties and linguistic passions. Neither of them seems to be sufficiently aware of the baic factors that make for unity in the Indian heritage. In his Patel Memorial Lectures, a few years ago, Dr. Raghavan chose for his theme the saint-singers of India as 'the great integrators', quoting chapter and verse to reinforce his point. "The historical continuity and the countrywide sweep seen in the activities of these saints of the regional languages", he said in his preface to the printed volume of those lectures, "underline the great role of consolidation that they played, leading to renewals and reaffirmations, from time to time. This integration, which we are endeavouring to achieve today and which the Saint-singers, who had a total concept of it, achieved in their unique way, was, I thought, a subject appropriate to the present times...."

To his mind, the heart of the Indian tradition was in the integration of the spiritual force with the material and of action with contemplation. This cultural synthesis had, in the past, found its most eloquent expression in the Sanskrit classics. It is Dr. Raghavan's belief, as he says in his *Indian Heritage* sponsored by the Unesco, that "this Sanskrit culture, in its own, as well as its derivative phases, is of equal significance to India itself, particu-

larly in the present transitional stage of its history, when men, swayed by conflicting ideologies, start behaving like people devoid of a heritage." Not only has Dr. Raghavan imbibed enough of this spirit of cultural integration, but in himself he represents an essentially integrated personality—of a scholar who is not content to be a distant recluse, of a critic who is also an artist, of a professor who has something of the poet in him, of a man of the world who is mindful of the other world, of a man of action who has the time to be a man of contemplation as well.

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